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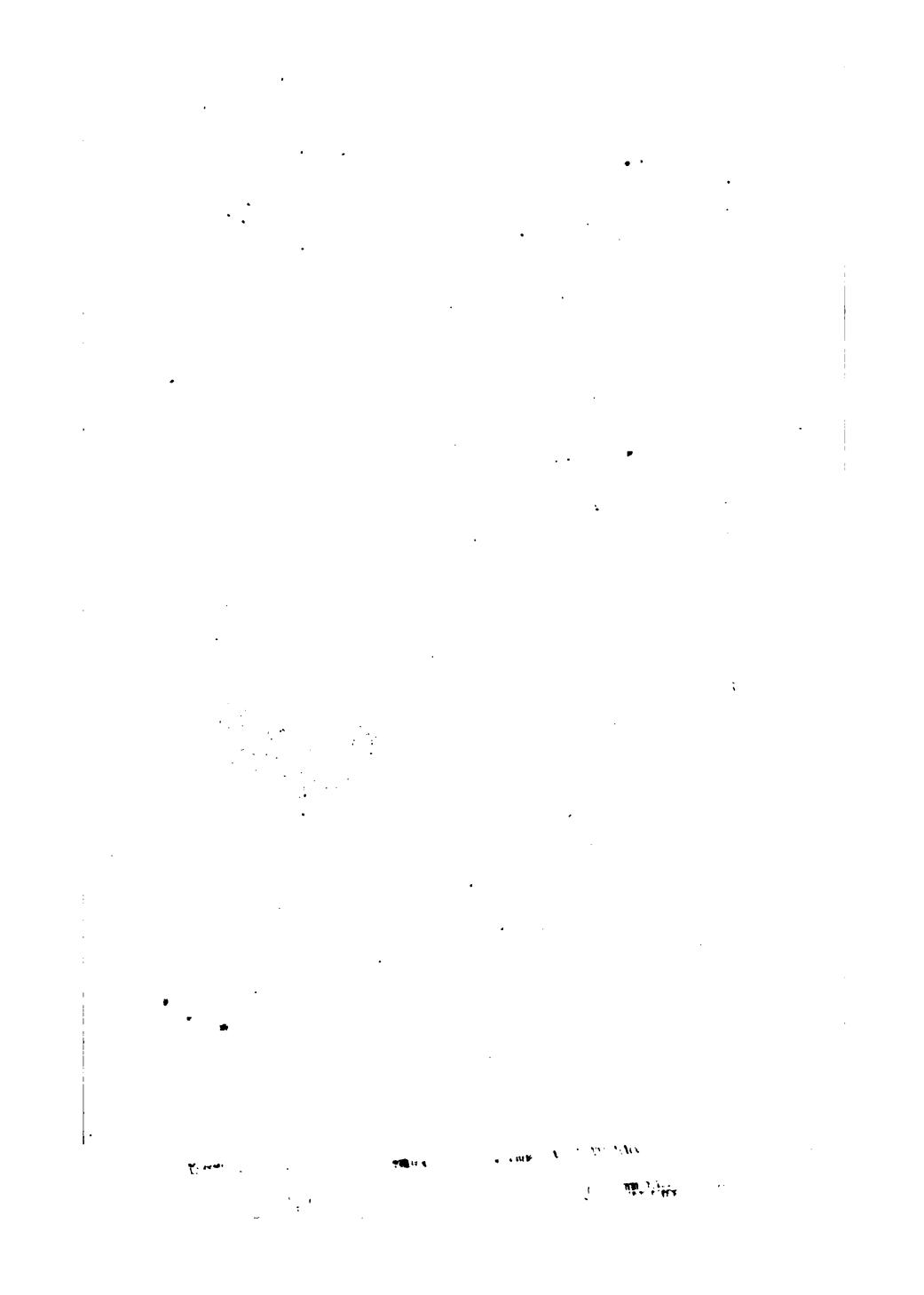




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REPORT  
OF THE  
**Proceedings at the Reunion Conference**  
HELD AT BONN  
ON SEPTEMBER 14, 15, AND 16, 1874

Translated from the German of Professor Reusch

BY  
E. M. B.



WITH A PREFACE BY H. P. LIDDON.

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## RIVINGTONS

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## *PREFACE.*

“WHEN so many threatening forms of infidelity  
“are attacking our Christian belief on one side,  
“and Vaticanism is putting forth its altogether  
“new propositions about the constitution and  
“faith of the Church of Christ on the other,  
“ought not all we, who profess to follow the  
“ancient Catholic Church as the keeper and  
“unfolder of the Holy Scriptures, to be able to  
“come to an understanding with each other?  
“Surely this should not be impossible, unless we  
“are rather stupid, or, perhaps, even self-willed.”

These were almost, if not quite, the exact words in which, in the course of a walk at Munich, three years ago, the revered and distinguished President of the Reunion Conference at Bonn first introduced to the writer his plan for assembling members of the Eastern, English,

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and American Churches to confer with himself and with other German theologians upon some of the vexed questions which have for so many centuries impaired the visible unity of the Body of Christ. His governing motive in making this proposal was to do what in him lay towards removing the most serious of all hindrances to the reception of the Christian faith by the heathen abroad and by unbelievers at home. As he has said elsewhere :<sup>1</sup>

That Christ, the Founder of the Church, desired and enjoined its unity is clear. In His Eucharistic prayer we read, "That they all may be one ; that as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."<sup>2</sup> Nay, this unity is, as He further prays, to be a perfect one, and therefore the most penetrating and purest conceivable among men. And here it is especially to be noted that this unity of Christian believers is itself to serve as the means to a further end ; it is to be a testimony for the world in general, and for all nations, of the truth and divinity of the teaching of Christ. And such it was in the early ages. "See how these Christians love one another,"

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<sup>1</sup> *Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches.* By DR. J. IGNATIUS VON DÖLLINGER. Translated by H. N. OXENHAM. London : Rivingtons. Pages 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> S. John xvii. 21.

was then a common saying of the heathen. According to the will of our Lord, men ought always to be able to say, "A religion which unites its adherents, and holds together a vast society so closely, without any coercion, through the Spirit which animates it, bears the impress of its truth and divinity." And thereby He has of course given us to understand that ecclesiastical divisions and a multiplicity of separate Churches will produce just the opposite impression on non-Christian nations, and on many Christians too, and will be to them a great stumbling-block and occasion of serious doubt as to the truth of Christianity. Any one who wishes to realise this has only to ask some educated Jew resident among us what impression the strife and controversy of the Churches make upon him.

It has indeed been maintained that the true unity of the Christian Church is purely invisible; that it consists in an unrealised companionship of believing souls around the throne of Christ, while, at the same time, the acts, the words, and even the passionate feelings of these very souls are ranged in hostile array against each other. Indeed, some writers have gone so far as to describe the desire for a visible unity as "carnal;" and they would appear to think that the spectacle of a number of religious organisations, all owning the Name of the Prince of Peace, and very constantly and energetically at

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war with one another, is really agreeable to His Holy Will.

Now if Holy Scripture is to be our rule, it is impossible to acquiesce in such an opinion as this. Our Lord's prayer on the eve of His Passion has been already referred to; and the teaching of His great Apostle is a significant commentary on its purport. St. Paul is proclaiming the Divine ideal when he tells us that there is "one body and one spirit."<sup>1</sup> Not "one spirit" only pervading a multitude of separated believers, but "one body," by membership in which they appear before the world, as forming an organic whole. Apart from this ideal, the Apostle's comparison of the Church of Christ to the framework of the human body is obviously inappropriate;<sup>2</sup> and his stern rebuke of the separatist tendencies which were manifesting themselves at Corinth<sup>3</sup> would have been somewhat unreasonable, if the visible unity of the Christian society were not really part of the

<sup>1</sup> Eph. iv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 12-27.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. i. 11, 13.

Divine Will. Indeed, upon modern grounds, the Corinthians might well have rejoined, that their mutual antagonism before the eyes of men involved the advantage of making their real but inappreciable union all the more striking, since, “in the absence of any maintenance of visible oneness among Christians, there would be no risk of externalising the idea” of unity.

In point of fact, this depreciation of the blessing and sacredness of visible unity has no warrant in Scripture whatever. It is partly due to the tendency of exaggerated forms of Protestantism to resolve all the facts of the Christian life, as well as of the Christian Creed, into subjective impressions upon thought and feeling, and so ultimately to deny their reality altogether. But it is more directly traceable to an historical cause—the divisions which resulted from the Reformation. So long as there was a hope that Western Christendom might retain its unity, the visibility of the Church was not denied by the Reformed. Calvin had as clear an idea of a united Christian body,

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organised after his own fashion, as ever had Hildebrand ; and, if Calvin could have changed places with the reigning pope, his disciples would not have been forward to deny the visibility of the true Church of Christ. As it was, men gradually learnt to raise a stern and humiliating necessity—as at first it appeared to minds like that of Melanchthon—to the rank of a virtue. They could not remain united with Rome ; they could not, so it seemed, unite even with one another ; and therefore the Divine Will on the subject of unity had to be so interpreted as to sanction a state of things which it really condemned. Hence the theory of a purely invisible unity ; it was the effort of religious minds to persuade themselves that a situation which they believed to be inevitable was not displeasing to God.

Men can persuade themselves of a great deal, and shut their eyes even to more, under the pressure of necessity, real or supposed. But the true worth of a tenet is only ascertained when it is tested by intellectual circumstances other

than those which have produced it. And thus it has happened, that whenever a keen sense of the actual Will of Our Lord and Master has been quickened in His Church, this fiction of the religious wholesomeness of a merely invisible Unity, traversing our visible divisions and rendering them harmless, has given way. Much more when the duty of outward union has been consistently recognised by divided bodies of Christians, the present condition of Christendom has been a constant source of distress to earnest servants of our Saviour.

Ever since the great schism between East and West, each of the separated portions of the Church has really had a bad conscience on the subject. This inward misery has not been relieved by noisy or official efforts at self-justification ; and from time to time, as at Florence, there have been attempts to make reconciliation, the failure of which has not diminished the sense of its moral necessity. The great separations of the sixteenth century in Western Christendom have left a soreness with all the noblest souls on each

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side of the chasms ; George Calixtus and Leibnitz attest the better spirit of Lutheranism ; among ourselves it is sufficient to name Archbishop Wake ; while Bossuet, by such works as his *Exposition*, did what he could to soften the ruder features of the Roman creed, in the interests of Christian Reconciliation. In our own day the “ Evangelical Alliance ” is a witness, however imperfectly, and it may be unintentionally, to the same truth. Active sympathy and co-operation among men who have little in common beyond a certain stock of sincere and fervent feeling, and who are content to ignore great and primary questions respecting the Divine Mind and Will on which the Christian Revelation has certainly not been silent, must always seem to be more or less hollow, and likely eventually to promote the interests of the smallest among the co-operating creeds. And yet the effort to work and pray together, and so to resist the disorganising and depressing influences of perpetuated separation is highly religious, and makes any movement which attempts it, though amid insuperable

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difficulties, more than respectable in Christian eyes. The Evangelical Alliance is a witness to the craving of the Christian conscience for the visible Unity of the Church of God.

When the Oxford movement of 1833 revived or reasserted the best traditions of the Reformed English Church, it naturally quickened old and profoundly religious yearnings for a restoration of visible unity between the separated sections of the great Christian Body. The fervent but thoughtful minds who controlled this movement perceived that the one-sided subjectivity of the so-termed Evangelical school threatened, like the older Pietism of Germany, to shade off into pure rationalism ; and among the truths by which this tendency was most powerfully counteracted, was that of the divinely ordered and visible organisation of the Christian Church. This was not the less insisted on, because the papal claims to an absolute sovereignty over the Christian Episcopate were firmly repudiated ; or because the guilt of existing separations was felt to be mainly chargeable on the

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usurpations of Rome; or because, in their anxiety to conciliate foreign communities that had sprung from the Reformation, English writers had in former years sometimes faltered in stating the organic conditions which govern the constitution of the Church of God. It certainly was no novelty in English Church teaching to affirm that while doctrines about metropolitical jurisdiction and State connection were of post-apostolic and human origin, the three orders of the ministry, and, not least, the Episcopate, are Divine. Modern apologies for Presbyterianism, and other unapostolic schemes for Church organisation, were primarily due to the real or supposed necessities of Calvin and others; but the idea that government by bishops belongs to the well-being, but not to the structural essence of the Catholic Communion, is certainly much more modern even than the idea that in order to be catholic a Church must be ruled by a pope. Neither conception belongs to the apostolic or to the sub-apostolic age; while the evidence for the world-wide rule of

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the Christian Episcopate between the middle and the close of the second century is at least greater than that which can be produced for the canonicity of more than one book in the New Testament.

It was therefore to the Latin and Eastern Churches, which still preserved an apostolic ministry, that those of the Oxford school who hoped for a reunion among the worshippers of Christ turned their eyes. Between the English Church and the East there had been an indefinite feeling of sympathy, ever since the Anglican Episcopate had repudiated the usurped supremacy of Rome. There had been public courtesies expressive of this feeling on both sides ; and Anglican divines, like Bishop Pearson, had always observed a marked line of deferential respect when referring to the Eastern Church. The Oxford writers hoped, and there is no reason for abandoning their hope, that on this side reunion was not impossible. But they also looked towards the Churches of the West, from whom the English had been separated only three

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centuries, and whose liturgies and laws still governed Anglican discipline and devotion so largely. Here, too, there had been occasional efforts at an approach to friendliness, as when Bossuet and the French bishops thanked Bishop Bull for his defence of the Nicene Creed; or when, amid the fury of the French Revolution, England became a refuge for so many emigrant clergymen, who "discovered to their surprise that the English, after all, were Christians." Of the state of feeling at this period we have evidence in a charge,<sup>1</sup> addressed to his clergy in 1810, by a prelate who certainly was not disposed to speak very tenderly of the Roman pretensions, and who in truth was less of a theologian than an exponent of the better feeling of his day. "If," observes Dr. Shute Barrington; Bishop of Durham—

" If by persevering in a spirit of truth and charity, we could bring the Roman Catholics to see these most important subjects in the same light that the Catholics of the Church of England do, a very auspicious

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<sup>1</sup> *Sermons, Charges, and Tracts*, by SHUTE, Bishop of Durham. London : Rivingtons, 1811. Pages 443, 444.

opening would be made for that long-desired measure of Catholic Union, which formerly engaged the talents and anxious wishes of some of the best and ablest members of both Communions.

“And what public duty of greater magnitude can present itself to us, than the restoration of peace and union to the Church, by the reconciliation of two so large portions of it, as the Churches of England and Rome?

“What undertaking of more importance and higher interest can employ the piety and learning of the ministers of Christ, than the endeavour to accomplish this truly Christian work? What more favourable period can occur, than the present, when gratitude on one hand, and mutual interest on the other, prompt to such an accommodation? Gratitude for valuable privileges already received, and mutual interests in opposition to an overwhelming tyranny, equally hostile to all ecclesiastical establishments, that are not yet subject to its infidel domination: which has at this time usurped, or is labouring to usurp, the dominion of every state of Europe, except this happy country, so highly favoured by a protecting Providence.

“If I should live to see a foundation for such union well laid and happily begun; if Providence should but indulge me with even a dying prospect of that enlargement of the Messiah’s Kingdom, which we have reason to hope is not very remote, with what consolation and joy would it illumine the last hours of a long life? With what heartfelt pleasure should I use the rapturous language of good old Simeon: ‘Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace!’”

It was hoped, up to the period of Roman Catholic Emancipation, and for a while after-

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wards, that Rome was softening the less defensible features of her system ; that she was ashamed of the exaggerations of the Schools ; that she was tacitly dropping claims and language which had been associated with the more violent phases of the Papacy ; that the more repulsive aspects of the cultus of the saints and purgatory were in a fair way to be disowned ; that, while no formal repudiation of her public documents was to be expected, a silent change was passing over her which would practically throw into the background those features of her system which had provoked the Reformation and determined its direction, and would thus make reconciliation at no distant date far from impossible.

As we look back upon these enthusiasms, in the light of our recent sad experiences, they may seem chimerical. But at the time, as it might easily be shown, they were far from unreasonable ; and they had a great restraining and impulsive power with some of the governing minds of the Oxford movement. It may not be

improper, and it may well be sufficient to name Mr. Keble. The familiar lines :

Speak gently of our sister's fall ;  
Who knows but gentle love  
May win her, at our patient call,  
The surest way to prove,

are the key to his earlier mind on this subject. He "could not follow Dr. Newman's language about 'the Papal Apostacy' in his book on the Arians :" "I thought to myself that such bold words would bring a Nemesis." He expressed the same feeling on hearing of a vehement anti-papal sermon preached by the then Archdeacon Manning before the University of Oxford. "Men find out," he said, "that they have been guilty of exaggeration or injustice, and there is no saying where this discovery may not carry good and generous minds."

Even after the great sorrow of his life, Dr. Newman's secession to the Church of Rome, Mr. Keble wrote the remarkable preface to his *Sermons, Academical and Occasional*. Certainly the immediate purpose of that preface was to

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furnish minds of a particular type with an apology for the position and claims of the English Church ; and, with this object, Mr. Keble so adapts portions of Bishop Butler's argument in his *Analogy*, as to show that probability lay on the side of the English Church in the controversy, and that the safer course was to remain in her communion. But in doing this, the writer laid stress upon the fact that "our debates with the Roman Catholics turn more on matters of fact and detail than on principles."<sup>1</sup> At the same time, he was not forgetful that Dr. Newman had joined the Church of Rome in obedience to a theory, unknown to her earlier representative divines—the theory of development. In becoming Roman Catholics, he urged, "we should have to choose between the modern theory of development, and the more established theory of silent, unrecorded tradition."<sup>2</sup> He could not help hoping, in his charitable way, that, as a whole, the Church of Rome held to her old

<sup>1</sup> *Sermons, Academical and Occasional*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Preface, p. 68, *ut supra*.

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teachers rather than to her new ones ; that she still meant to insist upon a major premiss which Anglicans could accept, however much they might differ about the minor ; that development meant a passing theological fashion, betraying the eccentricity of some very original and gifted minds, but not really implying a change in its fundamental theological principle on the part of the largest section of the Christian Church.

Therefore it was that on Dec. 8, 1854, an event occurred which, as far as Mr. Keble's convictions went, had decisive consequences. On that day, in popular Roman language, Pope Pius IX. decreed a new honour to Mary. He ruled that she had been conceived without sin ; and he undertook to raise this tenet from the level of a disputed and discredited opinion to the rank of an article of the Catholic faith. A theory which had been explicitly denied by St. Bernard and Aquinas could henceforth, according to the Pope, be rejected only at the peril of the soul's salvation. "After all," said Mr. Keble, "Newman was right : he saw that only on this prin-

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ciple of continuous development Rome could be justified." Such a principle, he often insisted, might lead to conclusions as widely as possible removed from those of the Roman Church ; he for his part could not think that Rome or any Christian Church would gain much by it in the long run. Bossuet and Bellarmine might have read what was only later Romanism into antiquity ; but they really meant to appeal to antiquity in good faith, and to be governed by it. Now, he urged, antiquity was really given up. Nobody could seriously find the Immaculate Conception in it ; the "living Church" was to be the organ of a continuous and widening revelation which made any appeal to the past superfluous. People might decry the Reformation ; but was it not better to have escaped from a theological tradition which was pregnant with such consequences ? "I should be thankful," he said one day, "if I could be assured that the children of those who are leaving us for Rome will be Christians thirty or forty years hence."

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From that date Mr. Keble's language on the subject of the Roman claims was more peremptory. He shared, indeed, in the enthusiasm with which the first part of Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon* was received. "Pusey," he said, "seems to me to be, both for learning and for charity, at the top of the tree; if he were anyone else I should have my fears for him." But he held that since 1854 no advances towards Rome could have any result. "We can only hold firmly to what we have received from Scripture and antiquity; the future is with God." For himself he had "given up hoping for anything" in the way of reunion before he was taken to his eternal home in the spring of 1866.

Mr. Keble perceived, and often said, that when the Immaculate Conception was defined to be a doctrine of the Christian faith by the Pope, without a council, the Pope's infallibility was also implicitly assumed to be an indisputable doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. He thought that this consequence would be made the most of by Ultramontane theologians; but

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he did not anticipate the events of 1870. It is unnecessary here to dwell upon what is still so recent; the full consequences of the unhappy Vatican Council are only now beginning to unfold themselves. But if, amid so much which must be discouraging to the future of Christianity, we may select any especial ground for encouragement and hope—as that which would probably have been welcomed thankfully by Mr. Keble—it is to be found in the Old Catholic movement on the Continent.

Language has sometimes been used which might seem to imply that the directing minds of that movement are religious adventurers who are trying their hands at the creation of “a new Church.” This misconception will only appear absurd to those who have the honour of knowing Dr. Döllinger. He is the last man in the world to make audacious experiments in the things of God, or to attempt ambitious schemes of leadership or organisation within or on the frontiers of the Kingdom of Heaven. He has been passive, or almost passive, throughout. The most learned

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ecclesiastic in the Western Church, he has found in his old age that the conditions under which he took Holy Orders have been fundamentally modified. An ordinary Italian priest or bishop might not be disturbed by the inquiry whether the Vatican Council had or had not placed Latin Christendom under the governance of a new principle; to Dr. Döllinger, with his eye upon nineteen centuries, such a matter was of vital import. It was the Vatican Council which created the Old Catholic movement. The Old Catholics only did what they had done before the council met. They obeyed their Catholic conscience, that the doctrine of the Church could not be added to; that *quod semper* was a test of unfailing value. They could not believe that the votes of a majority, however august, could cancel the ascertained facts of history. They were left behind by the fanatical impetuosity of an innovating Church — strong in their faithfulness to the traditions of a better age.

Doubtless, since 1870 they have been obliged to

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act. Their adversaries have denied them the Sacraments ; and, after all, people must live. Hence their Church organisation, hence their synods, their bishop, their increasing sense of a new corporate life. They have had to encounter dangers which were inseparable from the situation. All the revolutionists of religious thought have paid them compliments, and have held out to them the hand of fellowship. Thus they have had to disappoint their new friends after being rejected by their old ones. Not the least of their dangers has been unwittingly created by the German Government. Cynically indifferent to any profoundly religious motives, but keenly alive to the value of moral auxiliaries in his struggle against Ultramontanism, Prince Bismarck has extended to the Old Catholics a patronage which might become more embarrassing than his hostility. He has succeeded in morally rehabilitating Ultramontanism by persecuting it ; he will fail, we may hope, to demoralise the Old Catholics by befriending them. Hitherto, so far

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as is known, they have been respectful but independent ; they certainly have done nothing to instigate the violent measures of the German Government against their own implacable opponents ; they are much too keen-witted to imagine that the religious frontiers of Europe can be permanently readjusted in days like these by any such agency as the strong arm or the far-sighted policy of an imperious statesman.

The Old Catholic body seems to hold out to the English Church an opportunity which has been denied to it for three hundred years. Catholic, yet not papal ; episcopal, with no shadow of doubt or prejudice resting on the validity of its orders ; friendly with the orthodox East, yet free from the stiffness and one-sidedness of an isolated tradition ; sympathising with all that is thorough and honest in the critical methods of Protestant Germany, yet holding on firmly and strenuously to the Faith of antiquity —this body of priests and theologians, and simple believers, addresses to the English Church

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a language too long unheard, in the Name of our common Lord and Master. Once more the vision of a body which shall compass the world seems to rise however indistinctly before the mind's eye ; a body which shall attract the many earnest souls whom we in our Anglican isolation cannot reach ; a body through which one pulse shall throb at Constantinople, at Munich, and at Lambeth, and to whose pleadings Rome herself, in the days that are assuredly before her, may not be always deaf. Is it irrational to hope that a body such as this, uniting all that is sincere in modern inquiry, with all that is deepest and most tender in ancient Christian self-devotion, may yet hope to win the ear of Europe, and to bring succour to the intellectual and moral ailments of our modern world ?

The Bonn Conference was a tentative effort. It left large tracts of controversy untouched. It dealt very partially even with those controverted subjects which were under discussion. But something was done, it may be humbly hoped, towards a more complete work in the future. We of the

Western Churches cannot surrender the *Filioque*,<sup>1</sup> but we may well shrink from imposing it on the East, which is at least as jealous for the true Godhead of the Eternal Son as we are. We cannot accept or adopt the practice of invoking the departed saints of Christ, though we may hope that those who have always done so may escape dangers which, as experience has shown, would be inevitable among ourselves. We may join heartily in asserting the revealed truths of the Real Presence of our Saviour Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and of the Commemorative Sacrifice therein offered to the Eternal Father, without entangling ourselves in the philosophical difficulties which are inseparable from the definition of Transubstantiation. At any rate, the differences which may separate educated and believing members of the English Church from the Old Catholics or the Easterns

<sup>1</sup> On this subject Dr. Pusey has since written an important preface to the Oxford translation of the Commentary on St. John by St. Cyril of Alexandria. How largely, before the schism, the great Eastern Fathers had learned to use what the East now deems Western language on the subject of the Double Procession, is here shown with the writer's characteristic exhaustiveness.

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are not greater than those which are, alas ! to be found within our own communion. We, of the English Church, are already unable to assert before Christendom that we practically hold even some serious doctrinal differences to be a bar to religious communion. We co-operate with those who deny that which we deem true, or who assert that which we deem false, in the hope that the charities of intercourse, the force of argument, above all, the influence of God the Holy Ghost, will bring us to union in perfect Truth. May we not extend this principle, at least within the limits that have been suggested ? Surely, if we do not altogether succeed, something may be attempted for the honour of the Lord who bought us, and of His work among men.

At any rate, a report of the Bonn Conference should lead on to consequences beyond itself. In England, as on the Continent, many thoughtful minds consider that we are almost in the throes of change. It might seem that some existing Churches are on the point of resolving themselves into their constituent elements, and

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that a new future is shadowing itself out, however indistinctly, to the eye—a future which will be neither Papal nor Puritan—neither English nor Ultramontane. May He Who rules the hearts of men prepare us to accept and to do His will, and to hold all private interests of little account in comparison with the advancement of His glorious kingdom !

It should be added, that for making and correcting the translation the reader is indebted to some friends of the writer of this Preface. In order to make his own meaning clearer, and, in one case, his statement accurate, the writer would like to have deviated from Professor Reusch's German summary of the speeches at the Conference. It was however, on consideration, thought better to leave the Professor's report untouched. The serious interest of this publication will be found to lie in Dr. Döllinger's statements respecting the relations of the Eastern Church with the West,<sup>1</sup> and the validity of

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* page 22.

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English ordinations ;<sup>1</sup> statements which, it need not be added, possess a very different kind of value from that of the accompanying discussions. Indeed, of some speeches which were delivered very little is reported, and the leading topics have escaped notice, while others, of no great consequence, have entirely disappeared. Something of this kind was inevitable ; and, considering the difficulties under which it was drawn up, too much praise cannot be given to the general accuracy of the accomplished Professor's *résumé* of the proceedings.

H. P. LIDDON.

3. AMEN COURT, ST. PAUL'S,  
*Easter, 1875.*

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* page 51.

*PREFACE BY PROFESSOR  
REUSCH.*

THE following account of the Reunion Conference at Bonn is not official, but claims, nevertheless, to be, at least in substance, authentic. In drawing up this report I have used as a groundwork my own notes, taken during the proceedings, comparing them with an English account, written by Mr. Broade, from his memoranda, and most kindly forwarded to me. I have also made use of much that has been supplied to me by those who took part in the Conference, of their own utterances. The statement on the subject of the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, page 18, and the remarks on Anglican Orders, page 35, are printed from Dr. Döllinger's own supplementary notes.

Although the words of those who took part

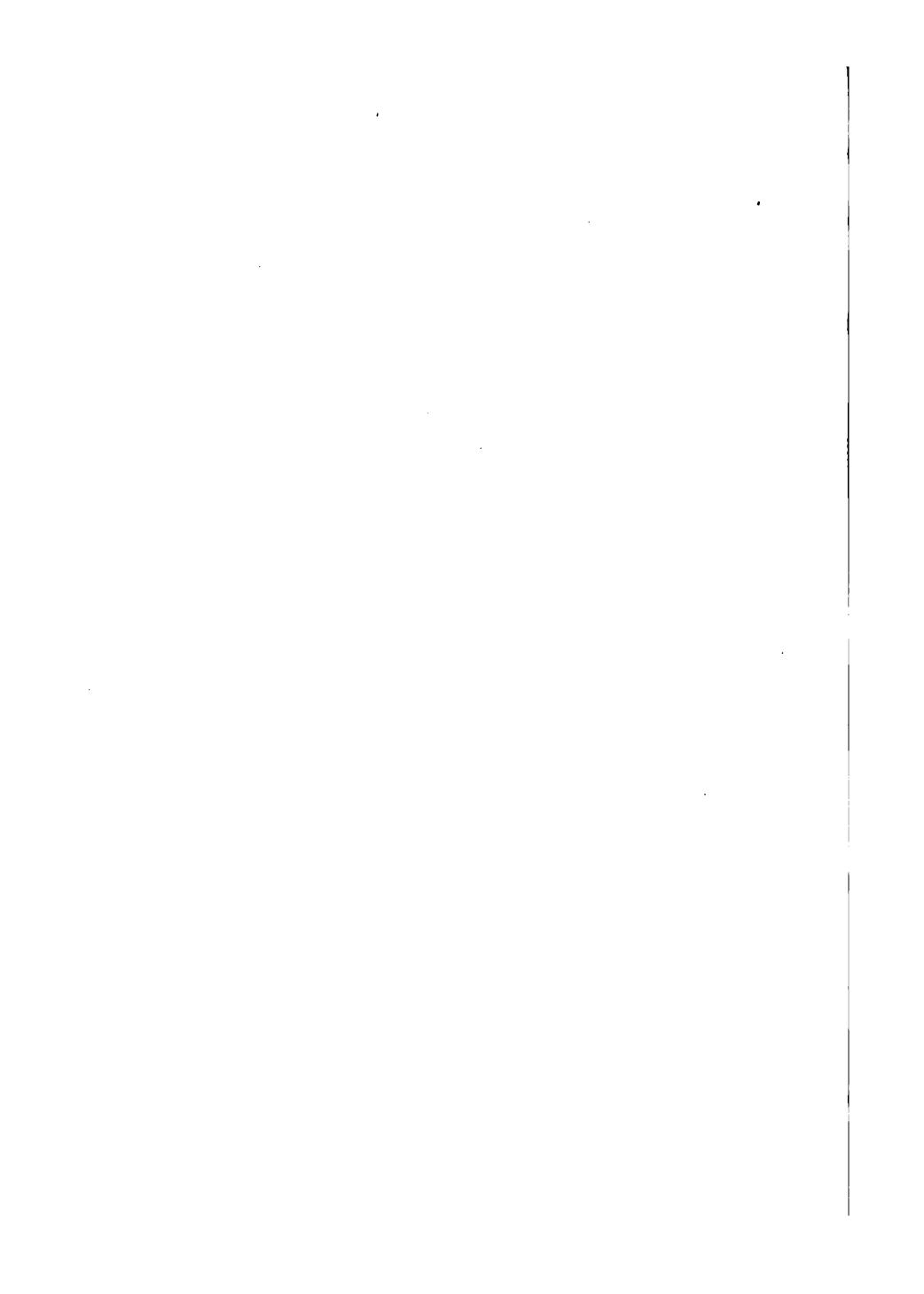
in the Conference are quoted in the form of direct speeches, it must not be concluded that they were spoken word for word as they are given. That form is chosen for the sake of brevity and clearness, but a long speech is often comprised in a few sentences, of which none perhaps were literally spoken, but which are a faithful rendering of the substance and tenor of the speech.

The theses which formed the basis of the discussion were almost all written in English, and verbally translated into German by the President during the proceedings. The English text is therefore the authentic one, and on that account it is given in full in the report. The subjoined German translation was made by me immediately after the close of the Conference, with the help of my manuscript notes, and some of Dr. Döllinger's memoranda. It was revised and pronounced correct by him.

It is no part of the object of this account to introduce reflections on, and explanations of, the proceedings ; still less, the correction and criti-

cism of inaccurate communications and incorrect remarks in the public papers. I have endeavoured throughout to report the facts as they happened, in the belief that by so doing I shall offer the best basis for a fair judgment.

REUSCH.



*At the beginning of August, in this Year, the following Invitation was sent to many Persons individually, and published in several Newspapers.*

We are in a position to announce that on the 14th September and the following days a Conference will be held at Bonn-on-the-Rhine, composed of members of different religious communities animated by the common desire to promote the cause of ecclesiastical concord and union.

The discussions will be conducted on the basis of what was taught and believed in the ancient Church, and the common ground and authoritative guides will be sought in the doctrines and institutions of Christianity, both Eastern and Western, and in the formularies of faith, as they existed before the great disruption

**xxxvi      *Reunion Conference at Bonn.***

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which separated the Eastern Church from her Western sister, and broke up the unity of Christendom.

The aim which will be kept in view will not be the absorptive union and radical fusion of existing Churches, but only the bringing about of ecclesiastical intercommunion and religious fraternity on the principle of "unitas in necessariis," side by side with the liberty of individual religious bodies or national Churches in regard to those peculiarities of doctrine and constitution which do not touch the substance of the faith as it was professed and taught by the undivided Church.

We understand that representative divines have been invited to attend from England and elsewhere.

**THE COMMITTEE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF REUNION IN THE CHURCH.**

**DÖLLINGER.**

*The following Names were entered on the Printed List, in the Place of Meeting, the Music Hall of the University of Bonn.*

*From GERMANY:—Old Catholics:* Dr. REINKENS, Bishop; Dr. VON DÖLLINGER, Counsellor of the Empire, Provost of the Royal Chapter, and Professor of Theology at Munich; Dr. LANGEN and Dr. REUSCH, Professors of Theology; Dr. KNOODT, Professor of Philosophy at Bonn; Dr. LUTTERBECK, Professor of Philology at Giessen; A. HOCHSTEIN, Parish Priest at Dortmund; R. A. WEIDNIGER, Parish Priest at Hagen in Westphalia; Dr. R. HASEMLEVER, Sanitary Counsellor at Düsseldorf; Dr. MAX LOSSEN, of Munich. *Evangelicals:* Dr. A. KAMPHAUSEN; Dr. KRAFFT, Counsellor of the Consistory, and Dr. J. P. LANGE,

Counsellor of the Consistory, both Professors of Theology ; Dr. JÜRGEN BONA MEYER, Professor of Philosophy at Bonn ; VON GERLACH, Garrison Chaplain at Frankfort-am-Maine ; KRITZLER, Pastor of the Protestant Congregation at Fränkish-Crumbach ; SCHEDEN, Pastor of the Protestant Congregation at Brüel ; G. SCHMIDT, Pastor of the Reformed Church of Lyppe at Schlangen ; Dr. WOLFF, Town Pastor at Rotweil on the Neckar ; Baron H. YWIERLEIN, Doctor of the Law, and Landed Proprietor at Geisenheim-am-Rhein.

*From SWITZERLAND* :—P. M. QUILY, Curé de Chêne, Geneva.

*From FRANCE* :—Professor AUG. KERCHHOFF, Melun ; Dr. E. MICHAUD, Paris.

*From DENMARK* :—SCHÖLER, Chief Pastor at Westee-Hassing in Aalborg ; J. VICTOR BLOCH, Licentiate in Theology and Provost ; P. MADSEN, Cand. Theology (?) at Copenhagen.

*From RUSSIA* :—JOHANNES JANYSCHEW,

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Rector of the Clerical Academy at S. Petersburgh; ALEXANDER KIREJEW, Secretary of the Society of Spiritual Enlightenment at S. Petersburgh; THEODOR VON SUKLIOTIN, Delegate of the Moscow Union; ARSENIUS JATSCHALOFF, Provost of the Russian Church at Wiesbaden.

*From GREECE* :—ZEIOS RHOSSIS, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Rhigarim, and Student at the University of Athens.

*From ENGLAND* :—EDWARD HAROLD BROWNE, D.D., Bishop of Winchester; J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester; HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D., Canon of S. Paul's, London; EDWARD S. TALBOT, M.A., Warden of Keble College, Oxford; ALFRED PLUMMER, M.A., Master of University College, Durham; JOHN E. B. MAYOR, Professor of Latin, Cambridge; CHARLES H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A., ex Collegio SS. Trinitatis Univ. Oxon.; LEWIS M. HOGG, M.A.; DANIEL TRINDER, M.A., Vicar of Teddington, London; G. E. BROADE,

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M.A., British Chaplain, Düsseldorf ; G. V. REED, M.A., Rector of Hayes, Diocese of Canterbury, Rural Dean of West Drayton ; WILLIAM CONWAY, M.A., Canon of Westminster ; J. D. MACBRIDE CROFT, M.A., Sevenoaks ; SAMUEL LOWNDES, J.P., Dorsetshire ; JAMES F. COBB, Torquay ; L. W. WILSHERE, The Frythe, Welwyn ; JOHN HUNT, London ; H. N. OXENHAM, M.A., Balliol College ; J. MACMILLAN, Congregational Minister, West Burton.

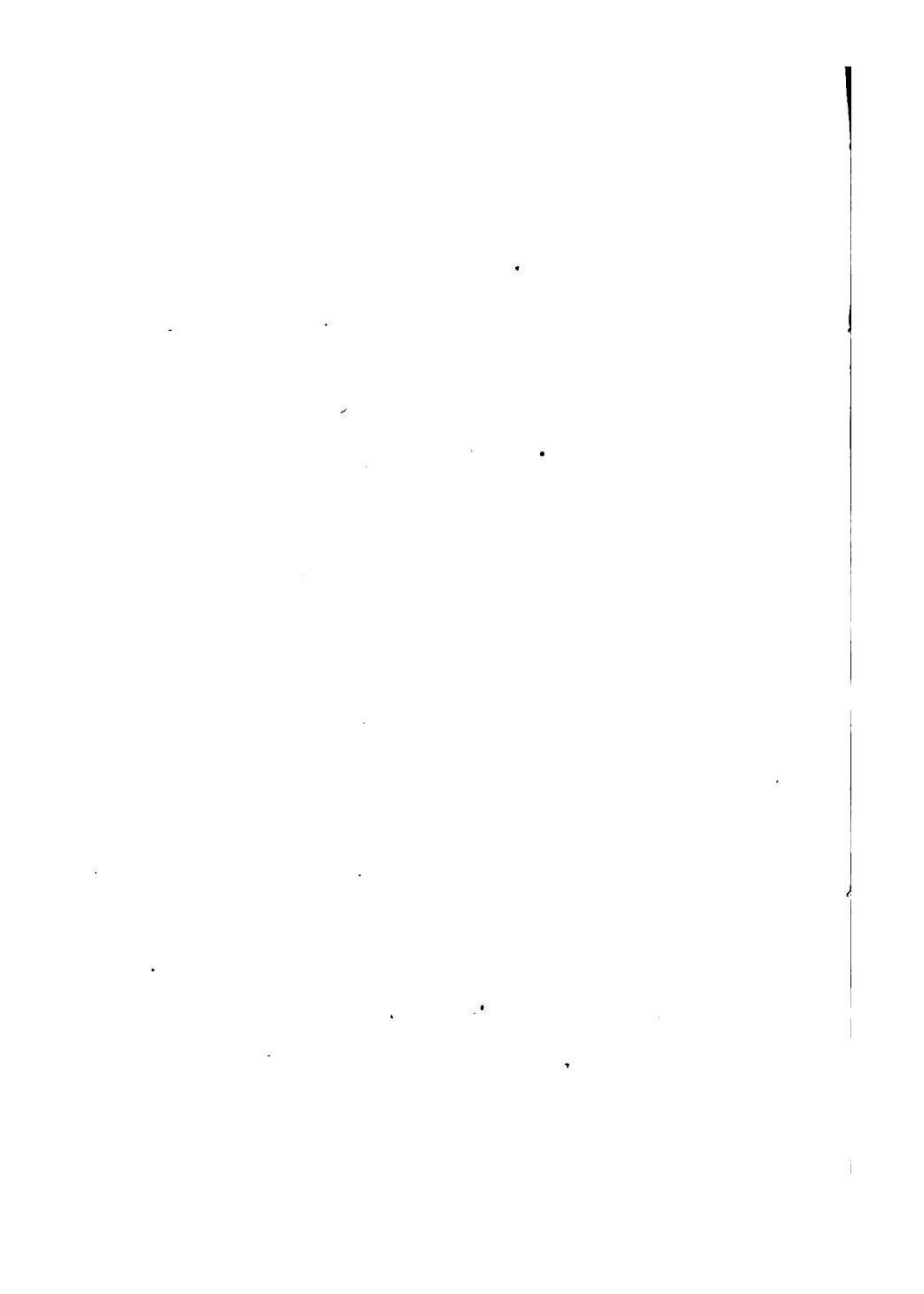
*From NORTH AMERICA :—*JOHN B. KERFOOT, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Pittsburgh ; Dr. HENRY F. HARTMAN, Diocese of New Jersey, the Bishop's Chaplain ; WILLIAM CHAUNCY LANGDON, D.D., Rector of Emmanuel Church, Geneva ; ROBERT J. NEVIN, D.D., Rector of the American Church, Rome ; GEORGE F. ARNOLD, A.M., Boston ; E. A. RENOUE, Presbyter of New Hampshire.

All the above did not take an active part in the proceedings ; many were present as hearers

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only. Amongst others, the Bishop of Winchester was obliged to leave on the first day.

Many German and English theologians had written to Dr. Döllinger to express their regret at being unable to take part in the Conference.



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## THE FIRST CONFERENCE.

*Monday, September 14th: Morning.*

*Professor Reusch:* Honoured Gentlemen! As our Conferences take place in a hall in the University buildings, the present Rector of the University may well take upon himself the honour of making you heartily welcome. I shall doubtless express the wish of all here, when I pray that the God of truth and of peace may graciously bless the work, which we have undertaken in the interest of Christian truth and the peace of the Church.

Before we begin our Conferences, permit me, in union with State Councillor Döllinger, on whose invitation we have come here, to make the following remarks. Our meetings are not public, and it will be understood by those present that in all communications on the subject

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they must proceed with great discretion. A short report of all that may have interest for the reading public will be sent to the local paper. No arrangement has been made as yet as to the report of the Conferences after they are over. The discussions will not be stenographed ; nor will any formal record be drawn up. Dr. Döllinger has, however, begged me to take short notes of the proceedings in German, and Mr. Broade to do the same in English.

There is one more point I wish to bring forward. We none of us hold a commission from any Church or ecclesiastical body. Our Conference is, therefore, of the nature of a Conference of private individuals only. It follows that what each one says is but the expression of his own opinion, and does not in any way compromise the Church or ecclesiastical body to which he belongs. It seems agreeable to this view of the unofficial character of our Conference to offer the presidency of it not to any one here present holding an ecclesiastical office, but to one who is simply a learned man. I do

not doubt of the approval of all present, in proposing as President the originator of this meeting. He is not only the most advanced in years among us, but he is also, in the opinion of most, probably of all, the most learned and deserving theologian, Councillor von Döllinger.  
*(Applause.)*

*Döllinger*: The object of our Conference is the advancement of religious peace and unity in the Church. This object has in all ages been acknowledged as one to be aimed at, but the present condition of things makes its attainment appear peculiarly to be wished.

It will be desirable that the Conferences on the points of difference between the Anglicans and ourselves, and the Conferences on the points of difference between us and the Easterns, should be separate. The discussions with the former will be carried on in English; in conferring with our Russian friends we can use the German language, with which they are as conversant as ourselves. It must be understood, however, that all present may take part in both these Conferences. I

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hope that discussions with German theologians of other religious communities will also take place.

(*Spoken in English.*) Gentlemen of the English Church! I hope that the proposal which has just been made will meet with your approval. Mr. F. Meyrick, who was unfortunately prevented from coming here, has sent me a specification of the principal points of difference, with the proposal that an inquiry into those points should be assigned to committees consisting of English, Oriental, and Old Catholic members. This proposal does not seem to me to be practical at the present time; we should not, in that way, come to a decision on any point. We propose to lay before you some definitions which we hope may tend to settle misunderstandings, and to remove some of the hindrances which stand in the way of intercommunion between us and the English Church. We have for this purpose chosen such points as we believe most seasonable to be discussed at the present time. Should, however, any one of those

present have a better suggestion to make, or think other points of difference to be more fitted for discussion, we are ready and willing to take his proposal into consideration. We are also willing to discuss the Thirty-nine Articles one by one, if it should be wished. It may be most advisable, however, that the first subject of the Conference should be the theses that we have drawn up.

It is resolved to begin with this subject in the afternoon, and afterwards to hold a Conference with the Orientals.

*Hogg:* I should like to enter rather more fully into Mr. Meyrick's proposal. His idea is, that the Conference should be restricted to the consideration of the doctrines of the first five or six centuries. This would avoid the difficulties which might arise through the Thirty-nine Articles on the one hand, and through the Tridentine decrees on the other hand. He further suggests that committees, of which Dr. Döllinger, Archpriest Janyschew, and the Bishop of Winchester are each to nominate a member, should examine

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the teaching of the first six centuries with regard to the points of difference, and should report to a second Conference to be held next year.

*Döllinger:* In the invitation to this Conference the teaching of the undivided Church is specified as the basis of the proceedings. This agrees, therefore, with Mr. Meyrick's proposal. As regards the Council of Trent, I think I may declare, not only in my own name, but also in the name of my colleagues, that we hold ourselves in no way bound by all the decrees of that Council, which cannot be considered as ecumenical. This explanation will greatly facilitate a better understanding.

## THE SECOND CONFERENCE.

*Monday, September 14th: Afternoon.*

*Döllinger*: The discussions between the Old Catholics and Americans will be carried on in English. This need not, however, prevent those who are not masters of the English language from using their native tongue. I will repeat a summary in English of all remarks made in other languages. (The purport of the English speeches was also frequently given by Dr. Döllinger in German.)

One point stands out prominently, and must be the first to be examined into by us Germans and the English and Americans, because it has afterwards to be discussed with the Orientals: I mean the question of the *Filioque*. We Germans propose the following declaration:

We agree, that the way in which the words "Filioque" were inserted into the Nicene Creed was illegal, and

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that, with a view to future peace and unity, the original form of the Creed, as put forth by the General Councils of the undivided Church, ought to be restored.

This question has two distinct sides : there is the question as to the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost—and that is, of course, the most important point—and there is the question of fact as to the lawfulness of the amplification of the Creed by the addition of the *Filioque*. We will confine ourselves to this last point. It cannot now be denied that the Western Church inserted the *Filioque* clause into the Creed put forth by the Ecumenical Councils, without the consent of the East. The Creed, as it was framed at Nicæa and Constantinople, and confirmed by succeeding General Councils, formed for centuries the bond of union between the whole Church. Not till later, and then in a way that is not very clearly explained, did the *Filioque* clause creep in. It was opposed by many Churches of the West. Pope Leo III. expressed himself very decidedly against the introduction of it, in opposition to Charlemagne. It was in the

eleventh century that this clause first became added to the Creed in Rome also, not through any formal decision, but rather from a sort of carelessness. Since then it has become universal throughout the West. This led to a rupture between East and West, and inflicted a wound on the unity of the Church. The Eastern Church has a right to complain of this disturbance of unity by a one-sided and illegally-effected alteration of that Creed, of which three successive General Councils had declared that nothing must be added to that concerning which it had been said : *Fides sic expressa est perfecta*. But we must seriously consider whether some means cannot be found to heal this breach in the Church's unity.

*Bishop of Winchester* : I own I did not expect that this most difficult question would be discussed now. I thought we should have spoken rather of the theses proposed to us by the President, and of the possibility of intercommunion between the Old Catholics and the English Church. I have taken counsel with my English friends on this last point, and I may

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affirm that, in our opinion, there exists no reason on the part of the English Church against inter-communion with the Old Catholics. The Old Catholics would be admitted to Communion by the English clergy without hesitation. We hold the orders of Catholic priests, whether Old Catholic or Roman Catholic, to be valid, and any one of them could obtain an ecclesiastical office in England under the same conditions as an English clergyman.

As regards the *Filioque*, I can only give my own personal view of the matter, for we did not take counsel on that point. The English Church has long and painfully felt the breach that has existed between herself and the Eastern Church in consequence of the addition of these words. We willingly allow that the words ought not to have been added to the Creed, and that the insertion was made in an illegal manner. But we cannot acknowledge that a false doctrine was thereby introduced into the Creed. We hold that the teaching of the Eastern and of the Western Church on this point is equally

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orthodox. With the Easterns we acknowledge but one *Fons Deitatis*, but we contend that the *Filioque* clause in no way contradicts this doctrine. We could therefore well express our regret at the alteration of the Creed, but we could not assert that the *Filioque* clause should be removed. We should have to come to a much fuller explanation than we have done as yet, before it would be possible to remove from the Creed words that have long been there, and that have been received by all branches of the Western Church for centuries.

*Döllinger*: I wish to state, that as far as we are concerned, one of the principal objections to the removal of the *Filioque* does not exist. We could consent to it, in the interest of unity, without expressing any opinion as to the doctrine.

*Bishop of Pittsburgh*: With reference to the subject of intercommunion I can, as an American bishop, make the same declaration as the Bishop of Winchester. The restoration of the original form of the Creed would be less difficult in the

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American than in the English Church. The desire for a revision of the Creed has been openly expressed in many American dioceses, and the General Convention about to meet in October, must give its attention to that subject. The American Church would not, however, act alone in this matter, but only in harmony with all the branches of the Anglican Communion. Perhaps the words "might be restored" could be substituted for "ought to be restored," at the end of the President's declaration.

*Liddon:* I should have much hesitation in accepting the article in its proposed form, and Dr. Pusey would also oppose it. The theological situation created by the removal of the *Filioque* would be entirely different to that which would be created, if it were now proposed to insert it. The removal of the words would be sure to be interpreted in such a manner as to convey the idea that the doctrine expressed therein was to be considered as false, or at least as doubtful. It would be very desirable if we could agree in some declaration respecting the

doctrine. Would the expressions used by the Council of Florence be suitable for that purpose?

*Nevin*: I have no hesitation in agreeing to the thesis, as proposed to us by the President.

*Döllinger*: Our idea was, first to dispose of the formal question as to the interpolation of the *Filioque* into the Creed, and then to consider the essential question of the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. If we do not succeed in removing the formal difficulties, the discussion of the dogmatic question offers no prospect of an understanding with the Orientals. All previous attempts at coming to an understanding have been wrecked on the formal side of the question. The object of the proposed declaration is to dispose of this without prejudicing the dogmatic point at issue. If we on our side insist on the present Western form of the Creed, it is useless to have any discussion with the Orientals.

*Langdon*: I agree with Dr. Nevin that we can accept the thesis. I do not ignore the difficulties which have been pointed out, but I believe

that they should not prevent us from fulfilling the duty which is incumbent on us with regard to the unity of the Church, of declaring that "the original form of the Creed ought to be restored."

*Howson*: The assertion that an alteration of the Creed, which has been used in the West for eleven centuries, could not be effected without a formal decree of the Church, and therefore not without mature consideration and long negotiations between the different parts of the Western Church, does not imply that such an alteration could not be characterised as permissible and desirable. We are far from requiring the Orientals to accept the clause, or from thinking the difference in the form of the Creed to be a real ground of division. When the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos visited England some years ago, he recited the Nicene Creed without the addition *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ νιοῦ*. If, however, we on our side should consent to a change in our formula, still that consent ought not to be construed into a rejection of the doctrine contained

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in the *Filioque*. I propose to substitute the words "might be restored" for "ought to be restored," at the end of the thesis in question, and to add: "Such restoration, however, being not understood as an abandonment of the doctrine involved in the word *Filioque*."

*Oxenham*: There must be concessions on both sides before an understanding can be arrived at. The omission of the *Filioque*, after it has stood in the Creed for seven or eight centuries, would be a concession, and that by no means an unimportant one, on one side only. Theologians on both sides have acknowledged that no real difference exists between the two Churches with regard to the doctrine. If that is the case, we are not bound to require the Orientals to accept the *Filioque*; but then neither can the Orientals demand of us the omission of the clause which was first added to the Creed as early as the ninth century. The dogmatic question ought to be carefully sifted by English and German theologians.

*Hogg*: It would give a practical solution to

the formal difficulties if, just as it has been declared that the English Church would admit an Oriental to Communion in spite of his retaining his own form of the Creed, so in like manner the Orientals would not consider the retention of the Western form as a hindrance to intercommunion.

*Bishop of Pittsburgh:* My remarks are not intended to stop the way to further discussion of the subject. I only wish to say, that the Orientals may be in the right when they demand the restoration of the original form of the Creed, but that they are in the wrong if they ask us to change our form *at present*. As a bishop I have sworn to preserve the integrity of the Creeds, and therefore I cannot say that one of them ought to be changed. I can say, May God hasten the time when the alteration can be undertaken; but we cannot violently hasten that time.

*Bishop of Winchester:* The real difficulty is on the side of the East, not of the West. We do not regard the holding to the Eastern form

as a hindrance to intercommunion ; but the Orientals are inclined to condemn the retention of the *Filioque* as heresy, or in any case to consider it as an obstacle to intercommunion. In the interest of agreement I propose the following formula :

We agree that the way in which the *Filioque* was inserted in the Nicene Creed was illegal, and that, with a view to future peace and unity, it is much to be desired that the whole Church should set itself seriously to consider whether the Creed could possibly be restored to its primitive form, without sacrifice of the truth which is expressed in the present Western form.

*Schöler* : I agree with most of the English speakers, that it would be hardly possible to remove the *Filioque* from the Nicene Creed. But I beg to remind you that the Apostles' Creed contains all that is necessary to salvation to be believed, and that the other Creeds are only to be regarded as theological explanations of the Apostles' Creed.

*Liddon* : I agree to the Bishop of Winchester's amendment.

After Dr. Döllinger had answered the question

as to whether the laity were also entitled to vote, in the affirmative, the Bishop of Winchester's amendment was adopted. (The further discussions on this subject are on page 25. The Orientals took no part in the preceding discussion and voting, nor in the discussion and voting on the eight following theses.)

Dr. Döllinger then proposed the theses which had been accepted by the Old Catholic theologians, and afterwards formulated in English by himself, an English, and an American theologian, briefly explaining some of them. No opposition was raised to the first four. They were as follows :

1. We agree that the apocryphal or deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament are not of the same canonicity as the books contained in the Hebrew Canon.
2. We agree that no translation of Holy Scripture can claim an authority superior to that of the original text.
3. We agree that the reading of Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue cannot lawfully be forbidden.
4. We agree that, *in general*, it is more fitting and in accordance with the spirit of the Church, that the Liturgy should be in the tongue understood by the people.

The fifth thesis :

We agree that faith working by love, and not faith alone, is the means and condition of man's justification before God,

was, on the motion of the Bishop of Pittsburgh, seconded by Döllinger, modified as follows :

5. We agree that faith working by love, not faith without love, is the means and condition of man's justification before God.

The sixth thesis :

Salvation cannot be merited by "merit of condignity," because there is no proportion between the infinite good of the salvation promised by God and the finite merit of man's good works,

was, on the motion of the Bishop of Winchester, modified in the following way :

6. Salvation cannot be merited by "merit of condignity," because there is no proportion between the infinite worth of the salvation promised by God and the finite worth of man's works.

7. We agree that the doctrine of "opera supererogationis," and of a "thesaurus meritorum sanctorum," i. e. that the overflowing merits of the saints can be trans-

ferred to others, either by the rulers of the Church, or by the authors of the good works themselves, is untenable.

A short discussion resulted in the following thesis :

8. (a) We acknowledge that the number of sacraments was fixed at seven first in the twelfth century, and then was received into the general teaching of the Church, not as a tradition coming down from the Apostles or from the earliest times, but as the result of theological speculation.

(b) Catholic theologians (e. g. Bellarmine) acknowledge, and we acknowledge with them, that baptism and the Eucharist are "principalia, præcipua, eximia salutis nostræ sacramenta."

*Döllinger*: This article merely states an historical fact, viz. that the number of seven sacraments was first fixed at seven in later times, but it is a fact which has an important dogmatic significance. The Eastern Church also acknowledges seven sacraments; but the Greek word *μυστήριον* is still more indefinite than the Latin word Sacrament. If, at the time of the Reformation, there had been a more precise knowledge of the

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significance that the word Sacrament had always borne in the history of dogma, there would not have been so many objections raised to the customary sacramental teaching. In acknowledging only two sacraments, the Reformers used the word in a much narrower signification than had formerly been attached to it.

*Bishop of Winchester* : I agree to the thesis. Although the English Church teaches that two sacraments only are generally necessary to salvation, yet she does not thereby deny that there are other holy ordinances which, in a wider sense, may be called mysteries, or sacraments.

*Döllinger* : Baptism and the Eucharist are not equally generally necessary to salvation ; the former is more generally necessary than the latter. And, in a certain sense, according to the doctrine of the English Church, too, Ordination, for instance, is also necessary.

The eighth thesis was adopted.

After an interval the deliberations were resumed, this time between the Germans and Orientals.

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*Döllinger*: I suppose, gentlemen, that, to begin with, we are all agreed in regarding the great schism which rent the communion of Eastern and Western Christendom as a grievous calamity, which has been fraught with the worst consequences, and as an immeasurable misfortune. This schism has been a cause of rejoicing, gain, and triumph to the enemies of Christianity, and of sorrow and pain to her friends. It has lowered the authority and honour of our religion in the eyes of Mohammedans and other unbelievers, and we have only to think of the millions of Asiatic Christians who have become Mohammedans even in recent times, in order to realise what an infinity of mischief it has wrought.

All parties had their share in the guilt of this schism, but not an equal share. There were indeed times when the two divisions of the Church vied with each other in reciprocal recriminations, seeking out small and unimportant differences of usage, and exaggerating them into intolerable abuses, even into crimes—times in

which the disputatious spirit triumphed everywhere over the spirit of concord and fellowship which the Church had received from her Founder.

Nevertheless, no one acquainted with history can doubt that by far the greater share of the blame rests with the West. It was the Latins who, from the first and for many centuries, ceaselessly endeavoured to impose the forgeries and fictions authorised by their hierarchy, and the innovations and claims based on them, upon the Orientals. An imperious despotism, attended by the fear that the sight of the free Eastern Church might produce an unfavourable feeling towards Papal monarchy in the West, an evil ignorance of Christian antiquity, and especially of Greek tradition and ecclesiastical literature, on the part of the Westerns—these were the real causes of the schism. But for these, the doctrinal difference concerning the Holy Ghost would never have assumed such dimensions, nor have been branded by both parties as a soul-destroying heresy.

It was precisely in their rich patristic litera-

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ture, in their collections of canon law, their liturgies, and their conciliary acts, that the Easterns possessed a sure touchstone by which to test and detect the novelty of the Papal claims, and the spuriousness of the quotations adduced by way of proof by the Popes and Roman theologians. For this reason the Orientals met all overtures, all arguments, of the West, with a mistrust which was in the main but too well founded, and a genuine understanding was never arrived at.

The schism was not the work of Photius, according to the received Roman view, nor yet of Cœrularius. The communion of the two Churches, though momentarily interrupted, could still, without much difficulty, have been restored. Even towards the end of the twelfth century we find Popes and Emperors treating with each other, on the assumption of an unbroken unity of the Church. Not till the beginning of the thirteenth century did events occur of such importance as to lead to a lasting schism and rooted hostility between East and West. The

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conquest of Constantinople, the spoliation and desecration of the Greek Churches, the erection of the Latin Empire, above all, the part which Innocent III. took throughout by supporting these acts of violence with the whole weight of his authority and power, and openly forwarding the subjugation and Latinisation of the Eastern Church—these are the deeds which dug the chasm that has not been bridged over to this day. Then a swarm of Latin priests pressed greedily into the East, and, though ignorant of the very language of the country, opposed the national clergy with the pride and tyranny of conquerors. The bishops and priests of the country were compelled to leave it; otherwise their churches and revenues were robbed, or they themselves forced to adopt the Latin ritual. It was a drama of insolent tyranny and harsh oppression such as the Christian world had never before witnessed. The Popes and their legates set up altar against altar, placed ignorant Italians and Frenchmen as patriarchs and bishops over the Greeks, and even transplanted the Inqui-

sition with its autos da fé on to Greek soil (thirteen Greek priests were burnt in Cyprus). And we look in vain for any spiritual good or profit that accrued to the Eastern Christians from this long-enduring invasion of the Western Church.

Those pretended reunions of Lyons (1274) and of Florence (1438) were extorted from the extreme danger and terror of the Emperors, in spite of the constant opposition of clergy and people. Roman cunning, tyranny, and bribery wove a web at last at Florence which was rent asunder the very year after by the will of the people. And all attempts and overtures made by the West since that time for the restoration of the Church's unity, have been in truth nothing but thinly-disguised demands for the unreserved submission of the Oriental Church and her Russian daughter to the dominion of Rome. Greek sees already filled with lawful pastors were bestowed by Rome as titular dignities on Westerns. The Popes indeed protested that they wished to leave the rites and regulations of the Eastern

Church untouched ; but their actions were an abundant contradiction of their professions. The treatment of the Greek Christians in Poland and Southern Italy showed what the Orientals, who were politically independent of Rome, had to expect, even in the political sphere, if once the power of the secular arm in their countries should support the claims and efforts of Rome.

Until the year 1870 it was, as a rule, only with schism or resistance to Papal authority, and not with heresy, strictly speaking, that the Westerns charged the Orientals. But after the 18th of July, 1870, a change took place in this point also, which amounted to an entire revolution. At one blow Pius IX. transformed the eighty million Eastern Christians, who until then had been only schismatics, into formal heretics who denied a fundamental doctrine of Christianity—the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty and infallibility of the Pope. In future the definitions of heresy in the Roman canon law apply to these eighty million baptized Christians. This very much simplifies all future

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negotiations with Rome on the subject of reunion. If the three great Eastern Churches, the Russian, the Greek, and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, agree to accept the two new articles of faith of Pius IX., the union is consummated, but at the price of an entire rupture with their own history and tradition.

Henceforward the Westerns of the Roman obedience can hold out no terms to the Easterns and Northernns, save those of unconditional submission, and an entire abjuration of their heretical denial of the Papal power.

We Germans occupy quite a different position towards you. With you we hold in abhorrence the making of new doctrines. To us, as to you, the Vatican dogmas which Pius IX. has invented and carried with a high hand are equivalent to a denial of the truth of history and of all the principles of the primitive Church, and a renunciation of that tradition which was once common to East and West. We recognise your Churches as legitimate offshoots of the ancient Apostolic stem, which have restricted themselves to being

the constant and peaceful expounders of the doctrines and means of grace bequeathed by Christ and His Apostles, without either corrupting them or changing them in substance.

We know well that the Latin Fathers of the ancient Church have to thank their Greek teachers and predecessors for most of their interpretation of Holy Scripture. The Greek Churches were the mothers and instructors of the West. They possessed a Christian literature before the first Latin Christian book was written. The first six General Councils were entirely or chiefly composed of Greek bishops, and their decrees were the result of Greek tradition and theology. The Greek Churches have always enjoyed the immense privilege of reading the Apostolic writings in the original, and of thus receiving the fresh, unalloyed, and direct impression which only the original text can give.

In later times the West has, indeed, far outrun the East in the lively prosecution of theological inquiry, and in the fulness and precision of her

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doctrinal knowledge. After the time of Maximus the Confessor, Byzantine theology was stagnant, and with John of Damascus it apparently came altogether to an end. Since that time there have indeed been learned compilers in the East, but scarcely any independent and original theologians and interpreters of Holy Scripture, while scholastic theology sprang up in the West with vigour and life, though one-sided in character. With the Reformation, however, came a change, by which the foundations of genuine historical theology were laid with a fulness and precision unknown till then. The results of this Western learning are now, in a variety of ways, penetrating the consciousness of the Eastern Churches more actively than ever before. It is for us, the Orientals, Anglo-Saxons, and Germans, mutually to give and to receive, to teach and to learn. If we can succeed in spreading and vivifying the spirit of love and peace which has now brought us together, we may cherish the sanguine hope of a great reunion, which would be a more eloquent testimony to the indwelling vitality of

Christianity than a hundred apologies and panegyrics.

*Fanyeschew*: The speech of the reverend President has made a most favourable impression on me, and doubtless upon the other members of the Eastern Church. Our Church does not usually receive from Ultramontane theologians an acknowledgment such as he has granted her, viz., that she has preserved inviolate her character of Catholicity, and that the guilt of the schism between the two Churches rests chiefly with the West, and not with the East. The Ultramontanes have always treated us very differently, and have fostered evil prejudices against our Church both in the East and in Russia.

The Eastern Church bears within herself the living consciousness that, proceeding from Christ and His Apostles as her direct fountain head, she flows on like a river, to this day, in the course assigned to her by Providence, uninterrupted and untroubled; while the Western Church, which once formed an undivided whole with the East, has separated herself from that whole

like a mighty arm, and has become more and more corrupted in her progress by the ever-growing claims of the Roman hierarchy to sovereignty over the whole Church, and by the perversions in doctrine and discipline founded on those claims.

The wealth of scholastic literature, and the earlier awakening of a desire for knowledge in the West, seem to us the natural results, in part, of the aforesaid departures of the Western Church from the primitive character of Christianity, and, in part, of the agitations of Western life occasioned by those departures.

Meanwhile the Eastern Church was exposed to other trials, which arose both in the East and in Russia, from the subjugation of the Christian populations for whole centuries under foreign and pagan masters, and from other political circumstances connected with it. But even in those dark times the Eastern Church did her utmost not to leave her people without wholesome, plentiful, and nourishing spiritual food. Besides the Liturgy in the native tongue,

and the office-books which are full and copious, the Church has always provided for the translation of the writings of the ancient Fathers of the Church, especially the Greek Fathers, and these works have in all times been the favourite literature of the orthodox people.

We Russians have only in later times, especially since the time of Peter the Great, begun to profit by science in its recent Western development ; but I must reckon among the best services it has rendered to theology the modern translations of the Fathers of the undivided Church, and the acts of the seven General Councils, besides several learned works in different branches of theology.

A reunion of the two Churches appears to me to be either very easy or very difficult of accomplishment, according to that which we make the starting point of our negotiations. It is easy if we make it "the basis of the undivided Church," as expressed in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, the seven General Councils, and the doctrine of the Seven Sacraments. But it is very

difficult if every difference between the two Churches is discussed from the subjective points of view entertained by individual scholastic theologians.

*Döllinger*: But surely the doctrine of the Seven Sacraments is not contained in the decrees of the seven General Councils?

*Janyeschew*: It is contained in the ancient liturgical offices of both Churches, and in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, approved by the Councils, where the sacraments, though not numbered, are severally defined and acknowledged. The three points I have mentioned must be insisted upon unconditionally. We specified the detailed differences in writing to the Bonn Committee. As to the reconcilable differences between ourselves and the Anglicans, we are ready to discuss them whenever they are brought before us.

*Döllinger*: The principal differences mentioned in the specification sent from S. Peterburgh to the Bonn Committee are, apart from the Primacy, the *Filioque*, and the doctrine

of Purgatory. We hope to be able to offer some explanation as to the last point. With regard to the first we have agreed with the Anglicans in the following thesis (the speaker here read aloud the proposition on p. 14). Most of those who took part in the discussion were of opinion that there is no dogmatic difference between the Eastern and Western Churches concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost.

*Zanyschew*: Our Church acknowledges a *temporal* Procession or mission of the Holy Ghost from the Son; but she cannot hold as an article of faith an *eternal* Procession of the Holy Ghost from both the other two Persons of the Godhead.

*Rhossis*: The word *ἐκπορεύσθαι* (John xv. 26) refers to the eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father, while the *πέμπειν* refers to the temporal mission of the Holy Ghost by the Son. For this reason our Church teaches the eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and His mission by the

Son. S. Augustine probably has this in his mind when he says in his books *De Trinitate*, “Spiritus Sanctus principaliter ex Patre procedit.”

*Döllinger*: According to the last two speakers, a dogmatic difference also exists between the two Churches.

*Bloch*: “Unitas in necessariis” as regards the Greek, Roman, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches, must be “one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.” The question of the Double Procession must be left to the theological development of each individual Church.

*Tatschaloff*: If we limit ourselves to the teaching of the undivided Church, the *Filioque* must be rejected as false. The Creed was recited at the seventh and last General Council without the *Filioque* clause. With the exception of some few Western Fathers, all the Fathers of the Church speak of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone, and even in the West, as late as the seventh century, when the *Filioque* was very generally received, only a

temporal mission of the Holy Ghost by the Son was intended to be expressed, as Maximus the Confessor testifies. Many still understood it so in the ninth century, as appears by Anastasius Bibliothecarius. It was not till later, in the West, that the *Filioque* conveyed the doctrine of an eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son.

*Döllinger* : The proposition as amended by the Bishop of Winchester cannot then be adopted by the gentlemen of the Eastern Church.

*Fanyeschew* : We express in this matter our own conviction and that of our Church. Theologians in Russia are now engaged in the discussion of this question for the Bonn Committee. Would it not be well to await the result, and not come to any decision now ?

*Reinkens* : I must beg my brethren of the Eastern Church not to press their demands too far. An important concession has been made with regard to the illegality of the insertion of the *Filioque* into the Creed. We have affirmed that we do not regard the *Filioque*

as an article of faith. The Eastern Church has convoked no General Council since the schism, and has not therefore been able to anathematise the *Filioque*. In dogmatic strife, theologians are too apt to forget what is certainly a dogma, that love is the first of the commandments.

*Janyshew*: Love seeks to honour right, and without righteousness love cannot exist. Love has brought us together now; she moves us, however, to remember that it is not we, but the third Ecumenical Synod which has pronounced him to be anathema who shall add anything to the Creed.

*Knoedt*: Do the Orientals then really hold the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone as a *dogma*? If they do not, can they not receive the proposed thesis? If this is impossible, the question must be referred to the deliberating Committee. The passage from S. Augustine scarcely bears the meaning which has been assigned to it; the word "principaliter" merely indicates that the Father is the Fountain of the Godhead.

*Rhossis* : Now that all have acknowledged that the *Filioque* was illegally inserted into the Creed, the rejection and removal of the clause would satisfy us entirely, and the question as to whether this clause contains a true doctrine or not can be allowed to rest for the present.

*Döllinger* : Would you then agree to a form of words stating that truth is contained in the Western form of the Creed ?

*Rhossis* : No ; for such a clause would always convey the idea that the *Filioque* did, in fact, contain a truth. If we are to adopt the clause, it must be so framed as to leave the question open.

*Knoodt* : The clause could be so framed as to express that the *Filioque* contains a possible, but now an acknowledged truth.

*Döllinger* : We might say, "the truth that may be expressed." To-morrow we will discuss the question with the English.

## THE THIRD CONFERENCE.

*Tuesday, September 15th: Morning.*

*Döllinger*: There has been some opposition made to the adoption of the thesis concerning the *Filioque*, as amended by the Bishop of Winchester. It has been proposed, instead of the words "without sacrifice of the truth which is expressed in the present Western formula," to substitute "without sacrifice of the truth that may be expressed in the present Western formula." The Orientals would accept the proposition in this form. The Germans have no objection to the alteration. What do the Anglicans think of it?

*Bishop of Pittsburgh*: I regret that a fresh discussion of the subject should be opened now that the Bishop of Winchester has gone away. For myself, I cannot agree to the proposed

alteration. The words sound as though no truth were contained in the *Filioque*, and I cannot sanction them. Could we not say, "the doctrine," instead of "the truth," or, "any doctrine expressed in the present Western formula"?

*Döllinger*: "The truth that may be expressed," and, "any doctrine expressed," seem to me to mean almost the same thing.

*Zanyschew*: There is no substantial difference between the two expressions. But no agreement is possible if you continue to hold, as a truth, the doctrine of the Eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and from the Son.

*Döllinger*: The main difficulty is decidedly not yet removed; but if we can agree in a proposition which shall in no way touch the dogmatic question from either point of view, we shall have made the first step towards an agreement.

*Liddon*: I propose that we say: "Without sacrifice of the truth, which, according to the sense of the whole Western Church, is expressed in the present Western formula."

*Howson*: I agree to that proposal.

*Fanyeschew*: We cannot adopt it. It would imply a concession on our part that a reunion would be possible, even if the doctrine rejected by the Eastern were retained by the Western Church.

*Kirejew*: We could accept the form proposed by the President.

*Döllinger*: Or perhaps we might turn it thus: "We say this without the intention of deciding in favour either of the Eastern or Western doctrine."

*Bishop of Pittsburgh*: It would be best to keep to—"Without sacrifice of any true doctrine, which is expressed, &c."

*Döllinger*: It must be remembered that our thesis is not intended to decide any point of doctrine, but only to state the historical fact of the illegal alteration of the Creed, reserving the inquiry into the dogmatic question.

*Fanyeschew*: We Orientals cannot admit that the doctrine is an open question.

*Reinkens*: The Church is evidently not at one concerning the purport of the *Filioque*. Now

what we say is this: as the question has not been determined by an œcumical Synod, it is one for theologians to decide on scientific principles. But the Orientals go further than this: they require us to reject as erroneous the doctrine of the *Filioque*.

*Janyshew*: We certainly cannot regard the doctrine expressed by the *Filioque* as one not to be "sacrificed." We cannot, therefore, agree to any thesis which refers to it in this manner. That the Anglicans should agree to it from their point of view is quite intelligible, but from our point of view it is impossible. The utmost that we can allow is such a clause as: "Without sacrifice of *any true doctrine* contained in the *Filioque*." We should then understand by the "*true doctrine contained in the Filioque*" the doctrine of the Mission, but not of the Eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost, though the word *Filioque* does not, on the face of it, bear that interpretation. The Westerns can then reserve for a future discussion the determination of the true meaning of the *Filioque*.

*Döllinger*: Our desire is, as we have already said, on the one hand to state an historical fact, and on the other to leave open a dogmatic question. We desire to bridge over the chasm that now separates us, and not until that is done can we hope to build a house in which we may dwell together. I think it better, therefore, to adhere to the phrase, "without sacrifice of any true doctrine expressed in the present Western formula." (*Applause.*)

*Fanyeschew*: I should be glad if the word "expressed" might be changed into "contained."

*Nevin, Liddon, and the Bishop of Pittsburgh*, were all opposed to this proposed additional alteration after an agreement appeared to have been already arrived at.

*Döllinger*: It is certainly suspicious that fresh difficulties should be raised now, as once before, on the Eastern side, when the question was all but disposed of; but in such a difficult matter it is our duty to exercise the utmost patience.

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*Rhossis*: Instead of "without sacrifice," we might say, "without wishing to decide."

*Liddon*: I cannot agree to the substitution of "contained" for "expressed." In consequence of the recent controversy on the inspiration of Holy Scripture, the word "contain" has acquired a fixed technical meaning in England. If we made use of it in this thesis, it would be understood in England as meaning that the doctrine "contained" in the *Filioque* is not the same as the doctrine "expressed" by the *Filioque*.

*Fanyschew*: I should prefer the word "expressed" to the expression proposed by Professor Rhossis.

*Döllinger*: The thesis agreed upon is therefore as follows:

We agree that the way in which the "Filioque" was inserted in the Nicene Creed was illegal, and that, with a view to future peace and unity, it is much to be desired that the whole Church should set itself seriously to consider whether the Creed could possibly be restored to its primitive form, without sacrifice of any true doctrine expressed in the present Western form.

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It has been proposed to refer the inquiry into the dogmatic question to a Committee of five, consisting of one German, one English, one American, one Russian, and one Greek member.

*Kirejew*: There is already a Committee existing in Bonn for the negotiations with the Orientals.

*Döllinger*: The Committee I propose would be for the examination of this one special question only. But we can reserve this matter for discussion later.

*Bloch*: Should the German member of the Committee be an Old Catholic or a Protestant? I am not asking for the election of a Scandinavian member, but I think there should be two German members.

*V. Gerlach*: I think it right to say, in the name of the German Protestant theologians present, that we should consider it no injustice, but, on the contrary, better for the interest of the matter, if none of our number were included in the Committee.

*Döllinger* : We will now proceed with the discussion of the theses we have drawn up ; and first of the following :

9. (a) We agree that the genuine tradition, i. e. the unbroken transmission, partly oral, partly in writing, of the doctrine delivered by Christ and the Apostles, is an authoritative source of teaching for all successive generations of Christians. This tradition is partly to be found in the consensus of the great ecclesiastical bodies standing in historical continuity with the primitive Church, partly to be gathered from the written documents of all centuries.<sup>1</sup>

*Fanyschew* : Which are these ecclesiastical bodies ?

*Döllinger* : In the first place, your own, the Eastern Church ; and secondly, the Western Church, with the exception of those portions which have broken the historical continuity.

*Bloch* : Do you include among those the Reformed Churches ?

*Döllinger* : I cannot assert that the Danish Lutheran Church has broken the historical con-

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of this thesis was modified in the Fifth Conference ; see p. 75.

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tinuity, as (for example) the Genevan Church under Calvin has broken it.

*Block*: The Swiss Reformed Church has also retained baptism, and therefore its members have entered by the door into the sheepfold, and cannot be shut out of the Church by us Protestants, as the Baptists are.

*Bishop of Pittsburgh*: I can accept the thesis, provided it does not deny that Holy Scripture is the rule of faith.

*Döllinger*: Holy Scripture is universally acknowledged to be the rule of faith; and as the only object of our thesis is to obtain a consensus on doubtful points, this fact needs not to be expressly mentioned.

*Howson*: I must make the same reservation as the Bishop of Pittsburgh.

*Liddon*: The thesis is quite correct. It might be supposed to contradict the sixth of our Thirty-nine Articles, where it is said: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required

of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." But the expression "nor may be proved thereby," taken in connection with the twentieth Article, according to which "the Church hath authority in controversies of faith," justifies us in accepting the thesis.

*Janyschew*: It would be impossible now to go more fully into the relations of Tradition to Holy Scripture. The question is not accurately determined even in our catechisms.

*Rhossis*: I agree with Archpriest Janyschew in his proposal to leave the question as to the relations of Holy Scripture to Tradition untouched. I think, however, that the thesis should define the limits of tradition. The Eastern Church disputes the continuity of tradition in the Roman Church after the schism.

*Döllinger*: The thesis lays special stress on the consensus of the great ecclesiastical bodies.

*Rhossis*: The seven Ecumenical Councils could, however, be expressly mentioned in the thesis, as their decisions and decrees are the

authentic expression of genuine tradition and the consensus of the great ecclesiastical bodies, so long as both stand in historical continuity with primitive doctrine.

The thesis was accepted.

*Döllinger*: We have added another clause to this thesis :

9. (b) We acknowledge that the Church of England and the Churches derived through her have maintained unbroken the Episcopal succession.

You see that this clause merely treats of an historical fact ; but it is of the greatest practical importance that we should come to some agreement about it.

*Tatschaloff*: It is entirely a matter of history, but it is a subject of much controversy.

*Döllinger*: Some bishops of the Eastern Church too have acknowledged the succession of the English Church.

*Sukhotin*: The late learned Archbishop Philaret, who was a man of much note in Russia, gave it as his opinion that the English succession is very doubtful.

*Döllinger*: It is undeniable that the succession is disputed. But the solution of the question depends solely on an examination of historical evidence, and I must give it as the result of my investigations that I have no manner of doubt as to the validity of the episcopal succession in the English Church.

The ordinations of English bishops since the Reformation were first assailed by a now exploded story (the Nag's Head fable), and then by sundry objections, some of which rested on utterly unfounded suppositions, while others were quite as applicable, or more so, if any importance were to be attached to them, to the ordinations of Roman Catholic bishops and priests. In this matter, all turns upon the question whether Archbishop Parker and his consecrator, Bishop Barlow, were validly consecrated. The consecration of the latter was first called in question eighty years after, in 1616; it is as fully proved as any historical fact of which no official record can be produced. Parker's consecration is testified, not only by all his contempo-

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raries, but by documents so authentic that even Lingard throws no shadow of a doubt upon them. Circumstances occurred in the Western Church before the Reformation calculated to raise far more serious doubts as to the unbroken succession and the validity of many ordinations than anything which has been alleged against English orders. Popes have sometimes annulled the orders conferred on bishops and priests by their immediate predecessors (Constantinus and Formosus). In addition to this they have, for centuries at a time and in reckless confusion, pronounced invalid a whole host of ordinations, some on the score of simony, and some on the pretext of schism or adherence to the anti-pope. The most fatal thing of all was, however, that, in deference to an ignorant scholasticism, they altered the matter and form of the Sacrament of Holy Orders, although, according to their own doctrine, the whole virtue and validity of the ordinance consists in these. Pope Eugenius IV. laid down in the decree which he published in the name of the Council of Florence, which has

the form of a solemn definition of faith, that the matter of the Sacrament of Ordination consists in the delivery of the sacred vessels, and that the words and touch of the Bishop constitute the form. By this they degraded the imposition of hands and accompanying form of words, which for a thousand years had alone constituted the sacramental act, into a non-essential ceremony, capable, therefore, of being omitted without prejudice to the virtue and effect of the act, as might be, for instance, the ceremony of the salt in baptism. The thought inevitably forces itself upon one that the bishops who accepted this new Papal doctrine may have omitted in many cases, and especially in very large ordinations, the act which was held to be non-essential.

If the Orientals, from want of further information, cannot agree with us on the subject of this clause, we must content ourselves with affirming the view of the Old Catholic theologians present.

*Reinkens*: I must own that my historical researches have led me to the same conclusion as to the validity of English orders.

*Janyeschew*: The statements of such weighty authorities as the last two speakers will be deemed worthy of consideration in Russia. We should rejoice if further research should lead to the establishment of the validity of English orders.

*Rhossis*: Anglican bishops and priests are very highly esteemed in the Greek Church. Some years ago, Gregory, the former Patriarch of Constantinople, and other Greek bishops, exchanged letters with English bishops, in which they greeted one another as "brethren in Christ." But the question of episcopal succession in the English Church and the Churches derived from her, has not yet been determined by the Greek Church, though I hope that it will be determined before long.

*Bishop of Pittsburgh*: A thorough study of the question must make the matter clear to the Eastern Church. I thank the President and Bishop Reinkens for their expressions of opinion. The bishops and priests of the English and American Churches have, indeed, no doubt what-

ever as to their own claims, but we value such frank statements as a fresh proof of the brotherly feeling which the Old Catholics entertain towards us.

*Liddon*: I had some conversation with Archbishop Philaret a year before his death, and he told me that he had not himself studied the historical authorities on the question, but that he rested his opinion of the consecrations during the reign of Queen Elizabeth simply on the testimony of Roman Catholic writers.

*Döllinger*: The next thesis is as follows :

10. We reject the new Roman doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as being contrary to the tradition of the first thirteen centuries, according to which Christ alone is conceived without sin.

*Liddon*: I propose that we say : "We reject as an article of faith the new Roman doctrine," etc. I think we should make allowance for those who reject the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as a dogma, but hold it to be a pious opinion. I myself reject it whether as a

dogma or as a pious opinion, but in the interest of liberty I feel bound to make this suggestion.

*Oxenham* : I cannot accept the motion. Those who reject the doctrine as a dogma have no right to condemn it as false. The thesis, in the form in which it has been proposed to us, is not drawn up in the spirit of reconciliation and reunion.

The *Bishop of Pittsburgh*, *Kirejew*, and *Hogg* were in favour of the original form.

*Döllinger* : If the thesis is altered in the way Dr. Liddon proposes, it must be entirely recast ; for if the doctrine is, as we maintain, contrary to the tradition of the first thirteen centuries, it cannot be a pious opinion.

*Liddon* : I made my suggestion merely with a view of not unnecessarily narrowing the limits of opinion.

*Oxenham* : If we were to accept the thesis in its present form, we should be ourselves erecting a new dogma, and I for one solemnly protest against so monstrous a procedure.

*Trinder* : It is not advisable, in the interests of

the Old Catholics, to go one step farther in the way of protestation and declaration than is absolutely necessary for the vindication of truth.

*Döllinger*: We German theologians have two reasons for speaking out most emphatically against the new doctrine. In the first place, history tells us that it was introduced into the Church by a concatenation of intrigues and forgeries. In the second place, the Pope's dogmatic definition of it was undoubtedly made with the object of preparing the way for the definition of Papal Infallibility. The doctrine has become for us a *fons et origo malorum*. But instead of "the new Roman doctrine," we might say "the new Roman dogma."

## THE FOURTH CONFERENCE.

*Tuesday, September 15th: Afternoon.*

*Döllinger*: Dr. Liddon has proposed the following amendment of the thesis concerning the Immaculate Conception :

10. We maintain that the new Roman dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as being contrary to the tradition of the first thirteen centuries, that Christ alone is conceived without sin, is not an article of the Catholic faith.

I do not, however, see any reason for saying "the Catholic," and not "the Christian faith."

*Bishop of Pittsburgh*: I am in favour of the original form of the thesis. When the Old Catholics think it desirable to make so decided a declaration against the Pope's violent measure, it is not for us to come forward in defence of Roman doctrine and opinions; we have only to

bear witness to the Roman Church that we consider this new dogma of hers to be a deadly attack upon the truth of God's Church.

*Liddon*: My amendment, too, was intended to protest against the new *dogma*, but without giving any opinion as to the value of the doctrine.

*Wilshire*: There have long been two opinions on the subject in the Roman Catholic Church. Pius IX. has committed the injustice of erecting one into a dogma and condemning the other. We should restrict ourselves to protesting against this injustice, that is, making an opinion into a dogma.

*Döllinger*: We German theologians utterly reject, not only the dogma, but also the opinion, remembering the endless follies and superstitions which it led to, even before it was made into a dogma.

*Howson*: I give the preference to the original form of the thesis. English theologians, too, are quite aware that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was a *ballon d'essai* for the Vatican Council. In accepting this thesis in its original

form, we do not, as it has been said, erect a new dogma. We merely express our own conviction, without any idea of forcing a doctrine on others. I myself cannot reconcile the doctrine with the Christian faith. It is also contrary to the explicit teaching of the Eastern Church, and Döllinger has expressed his conviction that it is contrary to the tradition of the first thirteen centuries. I do not believe in the personal infallibility of theologians ; but *malo cum Bernardo et Doellingerero errare quam cum aliis recte sentire.*

*Nevin* : Would the Germans be able to vote for Dr. Liddon's amendment ?

*Döllinger* : We had good reasons, as we have already said, for drawing up the thesis in its original form.

Of those present, nine voted for Dr. Liddon's amendment and twenty-five for the original form of the thesis.

*Döllinger* : The next thesis is :

II. We agree that the practice of confession of sins before the congregation or a priest, together with the exercise of the Power of the Keys, has come down to

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us from the primitive Church, and that, purged from abuses and free from constraint, it should be preserved in the Church.

*Howson* : I agree to this thesis, and I have no doubt but that my English friends will also agree to it.

*Fanyschew* : If the expression "free from constraint" is not to be understood as meaning "free from moral necessity or from duty," we can agree to the thesis.

*Döllinger* and *Bishop Reinkens* : "Constraint" and "duty" are evidently not convertible terms, nor can freedom from constraint be supposed to imply release from a duty.

*Döllinger* : The next thesis is as follows :

12. We agree that "indulgences" can only refer to penances actually imposed by the Church herself.

*Sukhotin* : This phrase is open to misconstruction. We know nothing in the Eastern Church of the Roman theory of indulgences. Our Church has only *personal* indulgences for the remission of a penance imposed on an individual.

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*Döllinger*: I am not surprised to find that our brethren of the Eastern Church, to whom the Roman system of indulgences is unfamiliar, do not enter into the meaning of the thesis. It is directed against the idea that indulgences can remit, not only the punishments and penances inflicted by the Church, but also the temporal punishments for sin, supposed to be due even after absolution, and that these indulgences operate both in this life and in the life to come. The thesis will especially exclude all idea of a remission of penances beyond the grave.

*Fanyeschew*: We attach no such meaning in our Church to the idea of "indulgences."

The thesis was accepted.

*Döllinger*: The next thesis is as follows:

13. We acknowledge that the practice of the commemoration of the faithful departed, i.e. the calling down of a richer outpouring of Christ's grace upon them, has come down to us from the primitive Church, and is to be preserved in the Church.

*Fanyeschew* and *Tatschaloff*: Agreed.

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*Bishop of Pittsburgh:* There is no doubt that the primitive Church commemorated the faithful departed in this manner, and when we pray, "Thy kingdom come," we do not exclude from that kingdom those who have entered into everlasting rest.

*Howson:* I would rather not vote on this article; not because I dispute that prayer for the dead is a practice of the primitive Church, but only in consideration of the mischievous abuses to which the practice has given rise in times past. The English Church is silent concerning this practice, and I would be silent too.

*Liddon:* The thesis is quite correct. No practice of the first three centuries is more clearly established than that of prayer for the dead. The English Church is silent on the subject, because at the time of the Reformation the doctrine of purgatory had given rise to great abuses. But *usum non tollit abusus*. The proposed thesis contains the genuine substance of the doctrine of the primitive Church. Dr. Pusey

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would highly disapprove if I did not assent to it.

*Döllinger*: Our thesis is intended to rectify abuses by an accurate statement of the meaning of prayer for the dead.

*Bishop of Pittsburgh*: The American Church is also silent as to this practice in her formulae, and I think her silence is wise ; but I cannot doubt the truth of the thesis.

*Trinder*: The faithful departed are commemorated in the Book of Common Prayer, when we pray in the Communion Service that we and all the whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of Christ's Passion. The faithful departed are included in the "whole Church."

*Hogg*: The thesis should be submitted for amendment to the Committee that is to be formed for the consideration of the *Filioque*. In its present form it does not express with sufficient clearness the idea that it has in view.

*Nevin*: No one has spoken against it except

the Dean of Chester, and he does not dispute the truth, but only the opportuneness of the thesis.

*Döllinger* : Perhaps Dr. Howson may have an amendment to suggest ?

*Howson* : No ; I cannot frame the thesis better, nor indeed do I disapprove of it. I only beg to be excused from voting on account of a private scruple of my own.

The thesis was accepted by a large majority.

*Döllinger* : The next thesis is as follows :

We acknowledge that the invocation of saints is not commanded as a duty necessary to salvation for every Christian.

Even Roman Catholic theologians, such as Bellarmine, Muratori, and others, do not declare the invocation of saints to be necessary to salvation, although it is very generally believed to be so. No objection will be raised to this proposition by the Western Church. What do the Orientals think of it ? The thesis is not directed against the veneration of the saints in general, but only

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against the erroneous idea that Catholics consider the invocation of saints to be obligatory on all.

*Tanyschew*: The invocation of saints has been in all ages a prevailing and universally diffused practice in the Church, and we have no reason to oppose the practice.

*Rhossis*: The thesis seems to contradict the decrees of the seventh General Council on the Invocation of Saints.

*Reinkens*: The thesis does not deny that it is right and allowable, as the Councils declare, to venerate the saints; it merely denies the universal obligation of the practice.

*Tanyschew*: How can a Christian discriminate between a duty and a practice recommended by his Church? It is the principle of the veneration of the saints that we insist upon, not the invocation of this or that saint in particular.

*Tatschaloff*: According to Hefele's *Concilien geschichte* (iii. 435) the decrees of the seventh General Council are as follows: "We are taught by our Lord, and the Apostles and

Prophets, that we should above all others praise and revere the holy Mother of God, who is exalted above all the powers of heaven, and likewise the holy angels, the Apostles, Prophets, and martyrs, the holy doctors and all the saints, and that we should implore their intercessions, which can make us acceptable to God, if we lead a virtuous life." All the primitive Christians who separated themselves from the orthodox Church before the seventh General Council, the Nestorians, Abyssinians, Copts, and Armenians, hold the doctrine of the Invocation of Saints. The Protestants alone have rejected it.

*Döllinger* : The proposition would of course excite opposition in the East ; we did not expect the Orientals to accept it.

*Howson* : Could it not, at any rate, be stated that the Old Catholics agree to the clause ?

*Döllinger* : It cannot be reckoned among the theses which were universally accepted here.

*Liddon* : The thesis is so moderately worded that even the Easterns might surely accept it. What passage is there in Holy Scripture, or what

decree of a General Council, which lays down that the invocation of saints is a duty necessary to salvation for every Christian? It was not held to be such a duty before the second Council of Nicæa, and therefore it could not be represented as such by this Council.

*Döllinger*: I see the difficulty which the thesis presents to the Orientals. In the first place, they are not aware of the transactions that have been going on in the West on this subject between Catholics and Protestants. In the second place, they attach a decisive force, not only to the decrees, but to all the proceedings of the seventh General Council.

*Zanyschew*: Up to this time the Orientals and Old Catholics have been agreed as to the principle of the veneration of the saints. The adoption of the thesis would make an agreement between them much more difficult.

*Döllinger*: If the Orientals maintain the universal obligation of the veneration of the saints, there can be no consensus in this matter; for the proposition in its present form is admitted,

as I have already said, by Roman Catholic theologians. But the matter must rest for the present.

The thesis on the Eucharistic Sacrifice must be discussed once more at a smaller meeting before it is proposed.

## THE FIFTH CONFERENCE.

*Wednesday, September 16th: Morning.*

*Döllinger*: In the proposition on the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which has been framed with the help of several English and American theologians, we have kept as much as possible to the words of Holy Scripture. It is as follows:

14. The Eucharistic celebration in the Church is not a continuous repetition or renewal of the propitiatory sacrifice offered once for ever by Christ upon the cross; but its sacrificial character consists in this, that it is the permanent memorial of it, and a representation and presentation on earth of that one oblation of Christ for the salvation of redeemed mankind, which, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 11, 12), is continuously presented in Heaven by Christ, who now appears in the presence of God for us (ix. 24).

While this is the character of the Eucharist in reference to the sacrifice of Christ, it is also a sacred feast, wherein the faithful, receiving the Body and Blood of our Lord, have communion one with another (1 Cor. x. 17).

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*Bishop of Pittsburgh:* I entirely agree with that proposition.

*Hunt:* Is the thesis intended to convey the idea that we receive the Body and Blood of Christ in a different sense in the Eucharist than in other ordinances?

*Döllinger:* Yes. Any other meaning would contradict the teaching of the Eastern, Western, English, and American Churches. Besides, this would scarcely be the place for any detailed discussion of Calvinistic doctrine.

*Trinder:* I propose that we add to the thesis the words: "have communion *with Christ* and one with another." The passage of Scripture quoted, 1 Cor. x., evidently refers to communion with Christ.

*Howson and Bishop of Pittsburgh:* The addition is quite unobjectionable, but superfluous.

*Döllinger:* The addition would make the thesis somewhat tautological. It is self-evident that "the faithful, receiving the Body and Blood of Christ," have communion with Christ.

*Trinder:* Such a clause would make the thesis

conformable to Holy Scripture, and to one of the prayers in the English Communion Service.

*Bishop of Pittsburgh*: I repeat, in the name of the Dean of Chester, and others besides myself, that our only objection to the clause is that it is unnecessary.

*Trinder*: Many wish the addition to be made ; but I withdraw my suggestion.

*Fanyeschew*: In former Conferences we Orientals have agreed to several theses because one reading was sufficient to make them clear to us. But if we are to vote with you on this proposition, I must beg for an explanation of the discussion which has been going forward in English.

*Döllinger*: In reply to a question asked me, I said that the thesis would exclude the Calvinistic doctrine of the Eucharist. The question was then discussed as to whether the words "with Christ" should be added to the thesis.

*Tatschaloff*: I agree to the thesis, although I think it might be more definitely and precisely

worded. Allow me briefly to state the teaching of our Church on this point: The Eucharistic Sacrifice is essentially the same as the Sacrifice of the Cross, inasmuch as the very same Lamb of God is offered now in the Eucharist Who was once offered on the Cross. Only with this difference; that on the Cross our Lord Himself visibly offered the Sacrifice in His own Person, whereas in the Eucharist He offers the Sacrifice invisibly, under the form of bread and wine. And whereas the Sacrifice was then a Bloody Sacrifice, by reason of the actual shedding of His Blood, the Sacrifice of the Eucharist is a sacramental and unbloody sacrifice. It is, moreover, not only a sacrifice of thanksgiving, but also a propitiatory sacrifice for quick and dead.

*Döllinger*: There is nothing in our thesis which contradicts the teaching of the Eastern Church. In the interest of agreement we thought it desirable, as far as possible, to use Scriptural instead of theological language.

*Tatschaloff*: I agree to the proposition.

*Rhossis*: The thesis does not contradict the teaching of our Church, provided the words "representation and presentation" do not indicate a mere contemplation, but an inward connection between the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Heavenly Sacrifice, and a real relation of the one to the other.

*Döllinger*: That is our meaning.

*Fanyeschew*: It is very gratifying to find that the Eastern and Western Churches can declare themselves entirely at one on this point.

*Bloch*: We too can thoroughly agree to this thesis.

*Döllinger*: If the last speaker expresses the mind of his Church, we can rejoice in knowing that the Danish Lutheran Church is also at one with us on this matter.

The thesis was accepted in its original form, without the addition suggested by Mr. Trinder.

*Döllinger*: A wish has been expressed that the beginning of the thesis on Tradition, which

has been already accepted (see p. 47), should be modified as follows :

9. (a) The Holy Scriptures being recognised as the primary rule of faith, we agree that the genuine Tradition, &c.

*Bishop of Pittsburgh*: The addition is not necessary, but it is wise and desirable, as tending to remove possible misconceptions.

*Liddon*: The Easterns cannot object to the addition, as it expresses the teaching of the primitive Church and of many Fathers of the Church, Athanasius and Basil among others, that Holy Scripture is the source of divine truth, while at the same time it is to be interpreted according to the traditional teaching of the Church.

*Döllinger*: Tradition in its wider signification includes Holy Scripture as its first and most important link; in a narrower signification, Tradition holds an interpretative authority towards Holy Scripture, which is therefore universally acknowledged to be the *primaria regula fidei*.

*Fanyeschew*: I agree to the thesis.

*Tatschaloff*: Tradition and Holy Scripture are of equal authority, although the latter is the chief rule of faith.

*Rhossis*: The thesis is not explicit as to the importance of Tradition for the interpretation of Holy Scripture.

*Kirejew*: The word "primary" is liable to misconstruction, and might be perverted into a means of underrating Tradition, just as the term "primus," as applied to the Pope, afterwards led to an erroneous idea of the Primacy. The question arises, whether the word "primary" indicates a priority in point of time or in point of authority.

*Döllinger*: It indicates directly only the former.

*Reinkens*: Holy Scripture and Tradition are inseparable, and should not be placed in opposition one to another. They are of equal authority, though a special significance attaches to Holy Scripture.

*Fanyeschew*: Our doubts arise from some

changes which have been made in the Russian Orthodox Catechism with regard to this point. The statement of the last right reverend speaker, as to the special significance of Holy Scripture in relation to Tradition, is in conformity with the present form of the Russian Catechism.

*Rhossis*: I have still some doubts about the expression, "primary rule of faith," but I will not vote against the thesis, as it does not gainsay any distinct teaching of our Church.

The thesis was accepted.

*Döllinger*: With regard to Communion in both kinds, I think it right to say that we Old Catholics consider the use of the Eastern and English Churches to be the right one, and that we are only doubtful as to when it will be possible to introduce a change in that matter among ourselves, in an orderly and regular manner.

*Bishop of Pittsburgh*: In my own name, and in the name of the Bishop of Winchester, who is no longer present, I heartily thank the President for having invited us here, and for having con-

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ducted our Conferences with so much skill and circumspection. I shall look back to having taken part in this Conference as one of the pleasantest recollections of my life. I thank God for the prospect of reunion which it has opened out to us. Allow me, in taking leave of the meeting, to read a short statement, which I should like to have placed among the Acts :

It is understood that these propositions, coming from Dr. Döllinger and his associates in the Old Catholic Communion, bring out only some of the points on which we hope for concurrence, more wide, as time goes on, among believers ; and that the propositions on some of the points are limited in their expression of the doctrine, though true as far as the propositions go ; and that this Conference and its agreements aim now at the promotion of intercommunion, and do not profess to have completed a doctrinal basis of agreement, but to manifest the brotherly concurrence of those here assenting to the propositions, in the truths so far as expressed, and in the hope and prayer that our Lord may speedily

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make all His members to be of one mind and of one heart, in the communion of His Holy Catholic Church.

JOHN B. KERFOOT,

*Bishop of Pittsburgh.*

*Fanyschew* and *Howson* said a few words in conclusion.

## THE SIXTH CONFERENCE.

*Wednesday, September 16th: Afternoon.*

*Döllinger:* A specification of the points of difference between the Eastern and Western Churches has been drawn up by the S. Pittsburgh branch of the Society of the Friends of Spiritual Enlightenment, and sent in a printed letter to Professor Langen. The first two doctrinal differences enumerated in the letter are serious. The second of these two, concerning the doctrine of the Procession, has been referred to the Committee. The first, "Of the Church and her Head," touches on two points. As to the second point, we agree to the clause against Papal infallibility: "The Catholic Church, lawfully represented and bearing witness to her faith through her bishops, is the only infallible keeper and expounder of the faith." We cannot

as yet make any definite statement about the first point which concerns the Primacy, especially as this question is at present the subject of lively discussion amongst ourselves. I think we will submit this point also to the Committee.  
*(Assent from the Orientals.)*

The third, fourth, and fifth Articles (Of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Of Good Works, and Of Sin) have been treated of at former sessions. The sixth Article (Of the State of the Departed) propounds a peculiar theory of the intermediate state, on which we can pronounce no opinion.<sup>1</sup> We have already stated our rejection of the Roman doctrine of indulgences for the dead.

<sup>1</sup> The article is as follows : "There is an intermediate state where souls awaiting the Judgment experience a foretaste of future bliss or torment. Through the mercy of God they can be benefited by the intercessions of the Church, and especially by the Sacrifice of the Mass." In contrast with this is given "the doctrine of the Western Church :" "Whoever has not made complete satisfaction for his sins upon earth, passes after death into Purgatory, where he makes satisfaction to the Divine Justice by the endurance of temporal punishment. From this punishment the souls of the departed can be freed by the intercession of the faithful, by the offering of masses in their behalf, and by indulgences."

*Tatschaloff*: We are quite satisfied with that. We teach no real "purification" after death, i.e. no repentance or moral amendment.

*Rhossis*: The doctrine of a purification of souls after death is certainly taught by S. Gregory Nyssen, who, like Origen, connects it with the doctrine of the so-called *ἀποκατάστασις*. It is not, however, a distinct teaching of the Eastern Church, although she accepts the doctrine of an Intermediate State between death and the last Judgment.

*Fanyeschew*: We are quite satisfied with the rejection of the doctrine of Indulgences for the Dead. Dr. Döllinger does not seem to understand the first clause of the Article.

*Döllinger*: I quite understand it; but I was not aware that the theory it sets forth, which is unknown to the West, formed part of the Eastern faith. There is nothing about it in the Greek Catechism of the Synod, as far as I know.

*Fanyeschew*: It is taught in one of our cate-

chisms, which I will send to you.<sup>1</sup> But we can pass over this point.

*Reinkens*: At these Conferences it is much better not to interfere with theological opinions.

*Döllinger*: We have now to consider the "canonical and ritual differences." The first Article, concerning the *Filioque*, is disposed of. The difference spoken of in the second Article concerning the administration of baptism, is not of much importance. The Eastern Church will

<sup>1</sup> The catechism sent by Archpriest Janyschew contains the following :

*Question*: In what condition are the souls of the departed until the general resurrection?

*Answer*: The souls of the just are in light and peace, and enjoy a foretaste of everlasting bliss; but the souls of the sinful are in a condition the reverse of this.

*Question*: Why do not the souls of the just enjoy the consummation of their bliss immediately after death?

*Answer*: Because it has been fore-ordained that the full recompence of the whole man shall be delayed until the resurrection of the body and the last Judgment. (2 Tim. iv. 8; 2 Cor. v. 10.)

*Question*: Does the foretaste of bliss include the actual vision of Jesus Christ Himself?

*Answer*: It does so especially in the case of the saints, for S. Paul seems to imply as much when he says, "*I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ.*" (Phil. i. 23.)

no more dispute the validity of baptism as administered in the West, than we dispute the validity of baptism by immersion.

*Rhossis*: Members of our Church are scandalised by baptism by sprinkling. Baptism was originally administered throughout the whole Church by trine immersion, and it is a most suggestive emblem of the death and resurrection of Christ. Perhaps, in consideration of this, and to avoid offence, the Western Church could restore the use of the primitive rite.

*Döllinger*: In any case the matter need not be regarded as *objectum litis*. As a matter of fact, the Westerns do not baptize by sprinkling (*ῥάντισμός*), but by effusion.

*Tanyschew*: You admit however that the Eastern is the most ancient and primitive form?

*Döllinger*: Undoubtedly; and also that it corresponds more with the scriptural word *βαπτίζειν*.

The first clause in the third Article, viz. that confirmation can be administered by a priest, is

undoubtedly true. This is admitted by the Roman Church ; only the priest must be authorised by the Pope. In the second clause it is observed that in the Eastern Church confirmation is usually administered immediately after baptism to infants, whereas in the Western Church it is not administered for some years after baptism, when the baptized has been instructed in the Christian faith. I think both practices may be retained. The Eastern use rests on ancient tradition ; but the Western Church founds her practice on reasons of expediency, and it would be difficult to effect any change in it.

*Liddon*: Confirmation is, as a rule, too late in England. In consequence of the inconveniences attendant on this, it has been proposed to administer confirmation at an earlier age, but certainly not immediately after baptism.

*Fanyeschew*: I hope that our Church would not regard this diversity of practice as a ground of division. But reasons of expediency would

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scarcely apply to this matter, which concerns the effect of the grace given in the sacraments of baptism and confirmation; and children from ten to twelve years of age are not in reality riper for self-guidance and personal responsibility than newly-baptized infants.

*Tatschaloff*: The separation of confirmation from baptism is a papal invention. Professor Friedrich drew attention to this in his speech at the Cologne Congress.

*Reusch*: As far as I remember, Professor Friedrich spoke of the regulation that bishops only should confirm as a papal innovation, and only cited the separation of confirmation from baptism as explaining the origin of the regulation.

*Tatschaloff*: No; he mentioned the latter also as an abuse.

*Knoodt*: Although it used to be a universal practice to connect confirmation with baptism, yet it must be remembered that adult baptism was customary then. The Orientals will not, in any case, consider the practice of deferring

confirmation till some time after baptism as inadmissible, as they look upon confirmation as a separate sacrament, altogether distinct from baptism.

*Döllinger*: In any case the Western Church has good reasons for her custom.

*Rhossis*: I do not think this difference will be such an impediment to reunion, as the difference in the rite of baptism.

*Döllinger*: The difference mentioned in the third clause of the third Article, that confirmation is administered in the Eastern Church with chrism, and in the Western with imposition of hands and chrism, is of subordinate importance.

*Fanyeschew*: Why, then, does the Western Church combine the imposition of hands with the chrism?

*Döllinger*: The imposition of hands was doubtless retained for the sake of keeping to ancient tradition.

*Reinkens*: The Orientals do not appear to have an accurate idea of the Western rite of

confirmation. The bishop does not with us lay his hand on the head of each person confirmed ; he only spreads his hands out while turning to the whole number of candidates, who stand or kneel at some distance from him, while he recites a prayer. He then anoints each one on the brow in the way described in your circular letter.

*Döllinger*: The fourth Article (Of the Holy Communion) observes that the use of leavened bread is directed by the Eastern Church, and of unleavened bread by the Western. The Western Church does not consider the use of unleavened bread to be necessary.

*Fanyeschew*: I do not look upon this as a ground of division.

*Tatschaloff*: It must be decided by the Synod.

*Döllinger*: The second clause of the fourth Article treats of the difference concerning the so-called *Epiclesis*. We can affirm, with regard to this, that we have nothing to say against the view that an invocation of the Holy Ghost belongs to the integrity of the act of Consecration. We have a similar invocation in our Western liturgy

also, but it comes before, not after, the words of Institution. Our form also is very ancient. These liturgical differences seem to have existed in the Church from the earliest ages, perhaps as early as the difference about the celebration of Easter.

*Fanyschew*: If the Latin liturgy dates from before the schism we shall not wish any change to be made in it.

*Döllinger*: That can be proved by documentary evidence. I have already spoken of communion in both kinds, which is mentioned in the third clause. What was said of the Confirmation of infants applies equally to the custom referred to in the fourth clause, of admitting infants to communion. We may consider the fifth Article (Of the Sacrament of Penance) to have been disposed of in an earlier Conference.

We come now to the sixth Article, which treats of the celibacy of the clergy. The difference of discipline on this point is very ancient. The Eastern practice was legally established by the Quinisext Council, in the year 692.

The celibacy of priests began to become a rule in the Western Church in the fourth century. The difference between the two Churches in this matter was not a ground of division in earlier times, and ought not to be so now.

*Tatschaloff*: Celibacy was introduced as an universal rule by the Popes, and that with a view to furthering their absolutism.

*Fanyeschew*: Our Church cannot approve of the celibacy of the clergy being made into a law by a particular Church.

*Döllinger*: It would certainly have been better if the two divisions of the Church had treated together on this point in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. But the practice of the Greek Church also was regulated at a Council where the Western Church was not represented.

*Reinkens*: The discipline of the Eastern Church imposes a restriction on her priests in this matter. Meanwhile the question is not as to which discipline is the best, but whether the difference can form a ground of division.

*Döllinger*: If a General Council is ever

again convoked, this whole matter will no doubt be discussed, and then perhaps the regulations of both Churches will be modified.

As regards the last Article, we also are of opinion that the Sacrament of Extreme Unction is not to be administered to the sick only when they are at the point of death, and that the consécration of the oil by a bishop is not at all essential.

The only real differences between us, then, are on two main points, which must be reserved for further discussion.

After some concluding words from *Döllinger*, *Fanyschew*, *Bloch* and *Liddon*, the *Te Deum* and the *Pater Noster* were recited by all together, and Bishop *Reinkens* said a short Latin prayer, adding in conclusion: *Benedicat nos omnipotens et misericors Deus Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen.*



## *APPENDIX.*

### I.

*Letter from F. Meyrick, M.A., Secretary of  
the Anglo-Continental Society.*

BLICKLING RECTORY, AYLSHAM, NORFOLK.  
*September 5, 1874.*

DEAR DR. VON DÖLLINGER,

The Conference of Bonn is the realisation, or rather the commencement of the realisation, of a hope that I began to entertain twenty-one years ago, and which I then began to work for by means of the Anglo-Continental Society. Will you let the deep interest that I feel (and I think that there can hardly be anyone in Christendom whose heart is more with yours in it) be my excuse, if I venture, in reply to your last letter, to make some suggestions to

one so much wiser and more capable than myself?

What I should desire to see would be something of this sort :

1. That the attention of the Conference be concentrated on the teaching of the first five (or six) centuries, and that no documents of later date should be taken into consideration. (This to avoid moving the questions of the authority of the XXXIX Articles, Pope Pius IV.'s Creed, etc.)

2. That every question on which Old Catholics, Orientals, and Anglicans disagree be referred to a Committee of three—each question to a different Committee ; one member of the Committee to be nominated by yourself, one by the Bishop of Winchester, one by the Archpriest Janyscheff ; and that it be the duty of each Committee solely to examine what was the teaching of the first five (or six) centuries on the subject submitted to it, without entering at all into the question of its being right or wrong, true or false.

3. That each one of the Committees report to a second Conference to be held this time next year.

4. That the following subjects be committed each to such a Committee thus to report upon :  
(1) The Canon of Holy Scripture. (2) The Eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost. (3) Human Merit, including therein the question of Works of Supererogation and the Treasury of Merits applied by Indulgences. (4) The Septenary Number of the Sacraments. (5) Transubstantiation. (6) Denial of the Cup. (7) Form of Baptism. (8) Clerical Marriage. (9) Authority of the Bishop of Rome. (10) Dead Language. (11) Purgatory. (12) Any other questions that arise.

If something of this sort be done, the effects of the Conference will not end in this one meeting, but will be permanent.

You will forgive my boldness in thus writing ? May God bless you and your work. I cannot tell you how earnestly I desire to be with you.

Yours most respectfully and affectionately,

F. MEYRICK.

## II.

*Letter from the Bishop of Brechin.*

DUNDEE, Sept. 4, 1874.

MY DEAR AND HONOURED FRIEND,

It is not convenient for me to be present in person at the Conference over which you are to preside at Bonn. However great the apparent difficulty of bringing it to a successful issue, no personal guarantee for such a result can be surer, than that it shall be presided over by one who, alike in what he has done and in what he has left undone, has exhibited such wisdom, moderation, and high principle.

The hope of the Reunion of Christendom has been in my heart ever since I thought deeply on theological subjects. For years I hoped that such reconciliation might be effected on the basis of the Canons of the Council of Trent interpreted in a benign sense—interpreted, that is, on the principle of such moderate theologians

as Catharinus, Cassander, Veron, Bossuet, and Bishop William Forbes, of Edinburgh, the author of the *Considerationes Modestae*. I esteemed the XXXIX Articles of the Anglican Church not only patient of a Catholic interpretation, but valuable in guarding on one side what the Canons of Trent guarded on the other. I hoped that the increase of true enlightenment and spread of science—or rather the cultivation of the scientific method, and above all, the motions of the Holy Spirit who has been so marvellously stirring up in men's minds the desire for unity, might lead men into closer bonds of ecclesiastical fellowship.

The unfortunate action of the Vatican Council has destroyed all hopes of an immediate union on such a basis as this. I wish to do justice to the sincerity of those who promoted it. I believe that they acted as they thought for the best, but I do not the less deplore the result. No immediate advantage in the way of consolidating the hierarchical power, no short and easy method for the settlement of controversies, can counter-

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balance the injury to Christianity which a break with history on the part of its largest section occasions, and such a break with history has been effected by the late Vatican decrees. If the Personal Infallibility of the Pope, and the consequent proposition that his determinations are in themselves, and not on account of any consent of the Church, irreformable, be part of the original depositum, the central truth of the faith once delivered to the saints, then the history of the Church is a tissue of inconsequences, and men for eighteen centuries have been in error as to the nature and conditions of the tradition and interpretation of Divine Truth.

Thrown back in this wise on ourselves, with hopes crushed, one cannot fail to hail with satisfaction such an effort as yours. Whatever difficulties may arise in attempting to adjust terms of ecclesiastical communion between those who hold to Apostolic succession and those who repudiate it, one must rejoice in every well considered attempt to break up the chronic state of separation which does more to retard the final

triumph of Christianity than the fellest assaults of open or concealed enemies. May the Holy Ghost, the Life Giver, the Illuminator, guide and direct you !

Dr. Pusey wishes me to express his devoted affection to you, and his unceasing sympathy with you.

Believe me,

Yours affectionately in Jesus Christ,

ALEXANDER FORBES,

*Bishop of Brechin.*

### III.

*Letter from the Rev. Malcolm MacColl.*

GLAMIS CASTLE, Sept. 11, 1874.

MY DEAR DR. DÖLLINGER,

I am sincerely sorry that an attack of rheumatism will deprive me of the great pleasure of coming to Bonn to attend the Conference which you have been instrumental in promoting. I was most anxious to be present for many

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reasons, but chiefly to show my reverence and affection for yourself as a Confessor who has fought a noble battle and suffered much for the truth.

The two great enemies of liberty and truth at the present day, as it seems to me, are Ultramontanism on the one hand, and Materialism on the other ; and they are playing into each other's hands. Our only hope lies in the principles of which you are so conspicuous an exponent. Mere Protestantism is powerless alike against the extremes of Papalism and Materialism. Having severed itself from Catholic antiquity, it can make no effectual answer to the former ; and its claim to the unlimited use of private judgment leads logically to the latter. Protestantism and Ultramontanism stand equally condemned in the face of history, since they have both rejected the ancient constitution of the Church and tampered with the creeds of Christendom. Ignorant and shallow minds may sneer at the ancient test, "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus ;" but to reject it is, in my humble

opinion, to reject Christianity altogether as an historical religion.

But while it is necessary to hold to the Catholic creeds and the primitive organisation of the Church as a basis of intercommunion, a large and charitable diversity ought surely to be allowed in matters which are not of the essence of the faith. One of the evil characteristics of Ultramontanism is the too successful attempt to suppress all national and local developments, and to reduce all things everywhere to one dead level of uniformity. A monotonous uniformity is inconsistent with a vigorous life.

I am glad to observe that the Old Catholics, while desiring the sympathy of members of other Christian communions, have carefully discouraged anything like an attempt on the part of foreigners to interfere with the development of the Old Catholic movement. We are still suffering in the Church of England from the folly of having allowed foreigners to interfere with the development of our Reformation. I trust, therefore, that no Anglican Churchman

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at the Bonn Conference will be guilty of the impertinence of proposing the English Reformation as a model to be followed by the Old Catholics.

The intention of the Conference, as I understand it, is to discover a basis for intercommunion between all who loyally accept the creeds and constitution of the undivided Church. And surely that ought not to be a difficult matter. It ought to present no difficulty to an Anglican Churchman in particular; for the Church of England, from the Reformation downwards, has always appealed to the testimony of the primitive Church, and professed her readiness to abide by the result of such appeal. Individual members of the English Church, from Bishops downwards, have indeed, from time to time, proved themselves more or less faithless expositors of the principles of their Church. But principles remain while men pass away; and it has providentially happened that every alteration in the authoritative exposition of doctrine or ritual in the Anglican Church since the time of Queen Eliza-

beth has been in a Catholic direction. In the face of such a fact we can well afford to be patient at the eccentricities of individuals, whatever their station in the Church may happen to be.

And now, my dear friend, there is one thing which I would most humbly, but most earnestly, press upon your kind consideration, and that is, the importance of your coming to England when the Bonn Conference is over. The next Church Congress opens at Brighton on the sixth of next October, and you know that the Old Catholic movement is to be one of the subjects of discussion. Your presence among us on that occasion would be most valuable, and could not fail to produce much good and to further materially the cause which you have so much at heart. In saying this, I assure you that I am expressing not merely my own opinion, but the opinion of some distinguished men among us, including several of our Bishops to whom I happened to mention the possibility of your visiting England this autumn. . . .

With my sincere assurance that I shall be

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with you in spirit, though compelled to be absent in body,

I am, ever your attached and affectionate friend,

MALCOLM MACCOLL.

IV.

*Letter of Count H. von Arnim to Dr. von Döllinger.*

BERLIN, 4, PARISERPLATZ,

Sept. 17, 1874.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR,

I learnt for the first time only a few days ago that you had called together an assembly of Christian men, to endeavour by their combined labours to discover the way to a restoration of peace. You comprehend how lively an interest I must take in this work, the success of which would be of the highest and most direct importance for our own fatherland. I telegraphed to Munich to ascertain where and when this free Council was to be held, and whether such a *frère ignorantin* as myself might be allowed to

join the assembly of wise men as a listener. My part would, of course, have been confined to rejoicing if I could understand the meaning of what learned men had to say. Unfortunately, the answer was that it was too late.

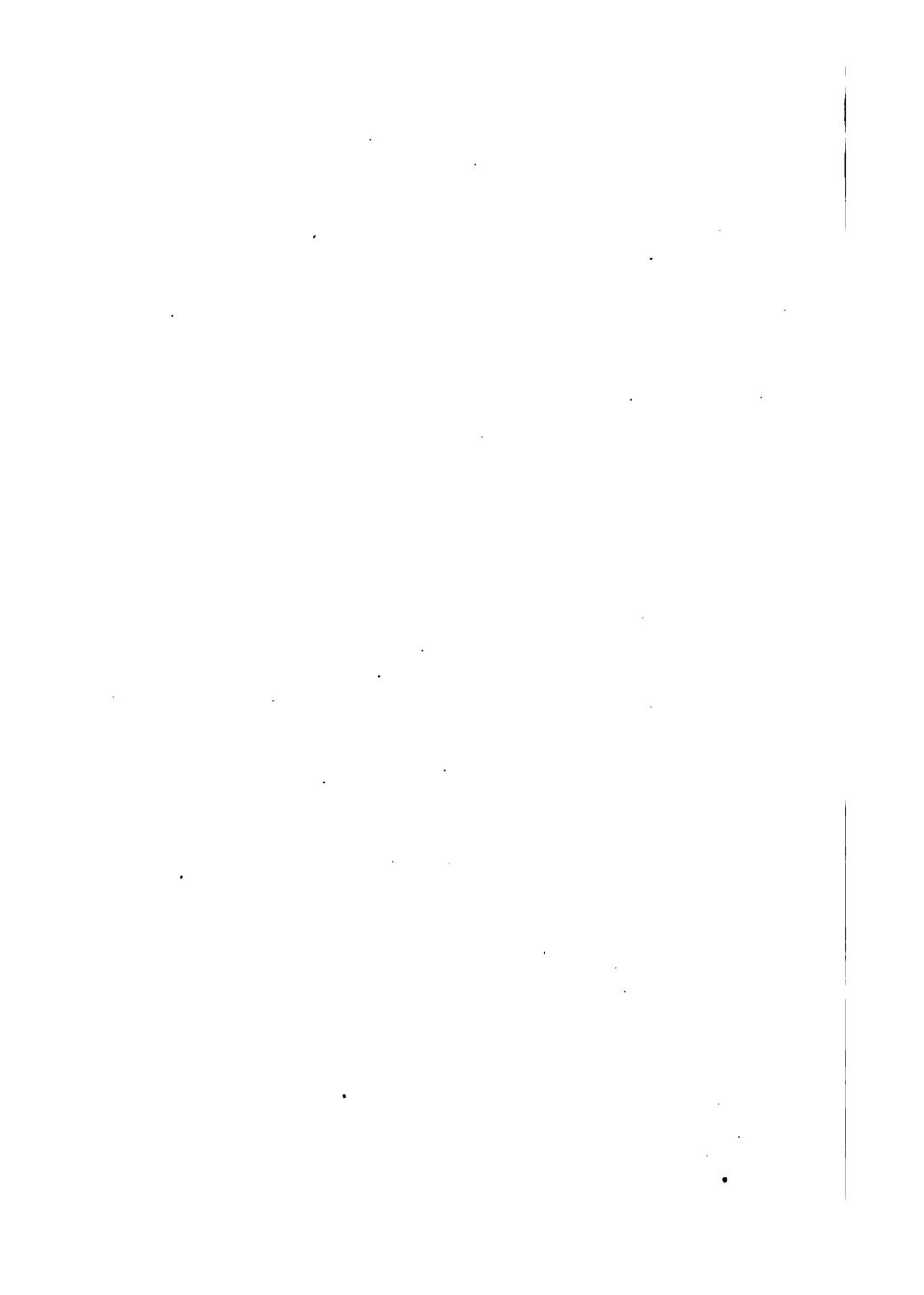
Under these circumstances, however, I cannot refrain from wishing blessing and success to yourself and your fellow-labourers. May it be your lot to rub off the sharp edges and nails which the Roman Vatican affair has driven so deeply into the living flesh of our nation, that the whole tree is becoming more and more taken for a poison plant, under whose shadow the nations could not "peacefully and freely" discharge their duties on earth.

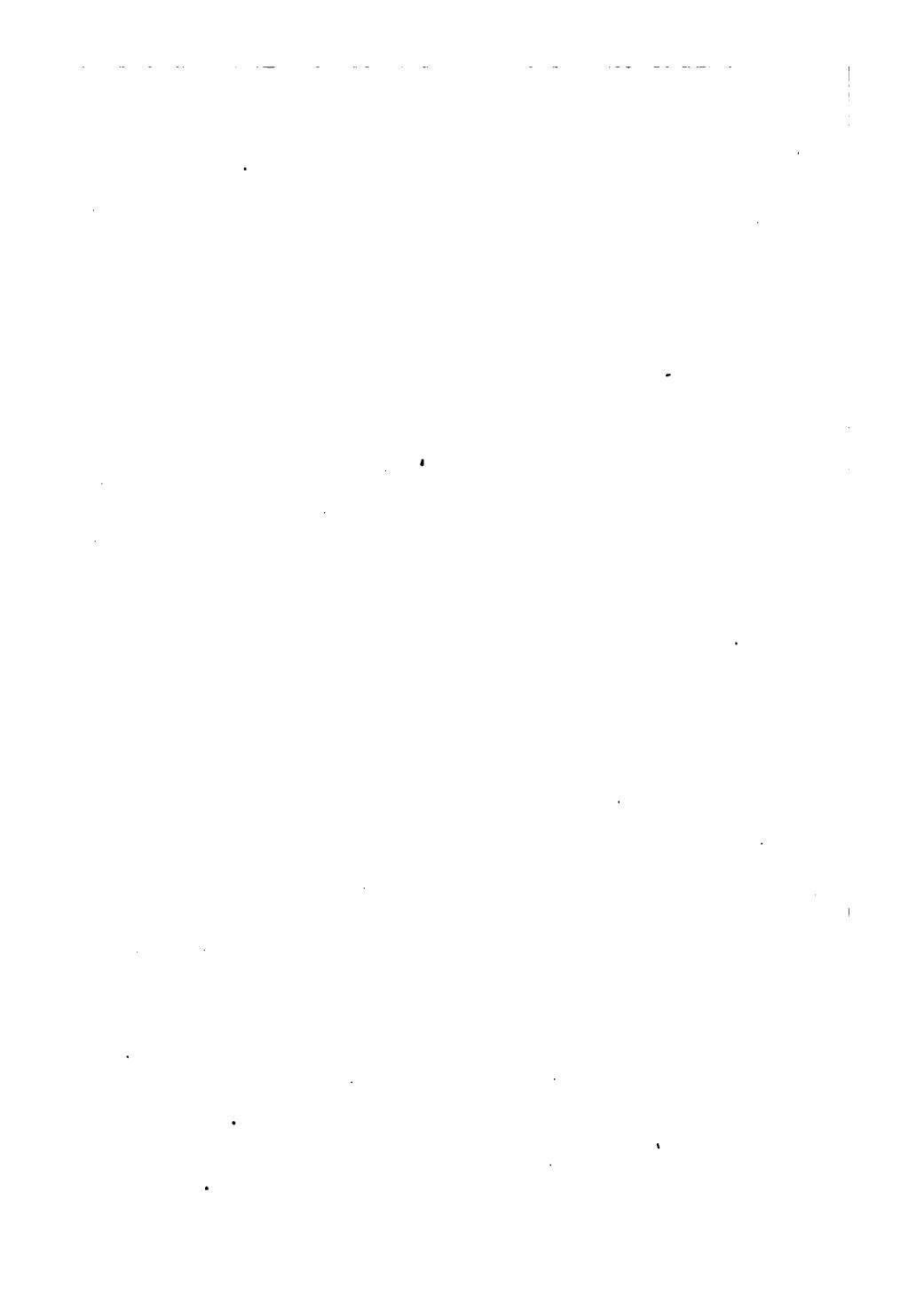
Pray commend me to my friend and well-wisher (Bishop Reinkens), under whose hospitable roof I hear that you are staying, who will bear a kindly remembrance of me.

I have the honour to be,

With profound esteem,  
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